Chinese Canadian Young Adults' Experiences of Parental Monitoring

By

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B.A., University of Western Ontario, 2012

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We acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt, and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the family experiences of Chinese Canadian young adults raised in immigrant families. Drawing on contextual and transactional theories of development and parenting, this dissertation investigates Chinese young adults' experiences and interpretations of parental monitoring and their links to youth well-being and family functioning. There is a relative lack of knowledge about the nature and interpretations of Chinese immigrant parenting in young adulthood and a lack of consensus regarding the conceptualization of parental monitoring both in adolescence and in young adulthood in mainstream and immigrant populations. This research achieved several objectives in a series of three papers. In Paper 1, I uncovered the range of Chinese Canadian young adults' perceived parental monitoring behaviours and motivations for such behaviours in a qualitative study using freelisting methodology. In Paper 2, I sought to understand the construct of monitoring in this demographic by creating a multidimensional measure of parental monitoring of Chinese Canadian young adults. In Paper 3, I explored how young adults' unmet expectations for parental monitoring related to well-being using polynomial regressions and response surface analyses. This research addressed several gaps in the literature by extending the study of parental monitoring to young adulthood, adding to the scant literature on parenting of Chinese immigrant young adults, distinguishing between mothers' and fathers' parenting, and moving toward a more complete conceptualization of parental monitoring.

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Dedication

To every immigrant child who has wondered if things would ever get better.

Preface

My interest in the family experiences of immigrant-origin young adults grew from my personal experiences as a 1.5 generation Hong Kong Chinese Canadian immigrant. It was long after spending my middle childhood raised primarily by my mother in an “astronaut family” and adapting to family life with my father when he permanently moved to Canada in my early adolescence that I began to appreciate the complexities that immigration and culture introduce into individual and family life across the lifespan. My own late adolescence and young adulthood required fortitude as I traversed a journey of persistent individuation fraught with decision points along the way. This dissertation was born in part from my curiosity of whether I was alone in my experiences (the short answer is no). Endeavouring in this research has not only been a scientific pursuit of knowledge, but has also turned out to be an important part of my soul-searching journey.

This dissertation was written as a set of three standalone manuscripts for submission for publication, thus, there is some repetition across chapters.

Chapter 1: Background and Context

The majority of foreign-born individuals living in Canada were born in Asia (Statistics Canada, 2016). Currently, Chinese and South Asians make up the two largest minority groups in Canada and these groups are expected to continue to grow for the next decade. By 2031, it is expected that more than half of foreign-born individuals in Canada will have been born in Asia. Over 350,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Canada from Hong Kong and China from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s (Li, 2005). Those who arrived as children are now in their young adulthood. Moreover, the majority of recent immigrants are relatively young—aged 20 to 44 (Statistics Canada, 2016). The younger portion of these recent immigrants are now also in their young adulthood and the older portion are at the life stage of raising children who will soon become young adults. Thus, the population of Chinese Canadian young adults is growing. There is a great need for knowledge on the optimal development of Chinese Canadian young adults as they and their children will play leading roles in the future of Canadian society.

Family functioning and parenting are salient matters for Chinese immigrant parents. Across immigration classes, it is common for Chinese immigrants to migrate to Canada primarily to seek better opportunities for their children (Costigan et al., 2016). Thus, parents have goals for children's success and well-being. The centrality of family in Chinese culture further emphasizes the importance of parenting and family relationships. In order to understand and support the well-being of Chinese immigrant youth, it is crucial to take a family lens and focus on aspects of family life that influence their adjustment.

Immigration is often a stressful experience fraught with difficulties in learning a new language, finding a job, developing a new social network, navigating unfamiliar community and school systems, adjusting to new routines, and discrimination. On top of these settlement-related tasks, each family member engages in an acculturation process, negotiating their own degree of

orientation toward heritage (i.e., Chinese) and host (i.e., Canadian) cultural values and practices (Berry, 2006). Parents and children often acculturate to the host culture at different rates leading to acculturation gaps within the family (Telzer, 2010). Within the family domain, parent-child acculturation gaps may manifest as differences in opinion about parenting. Parents are tasked with raising children within two cultures, considering aspects of heritage and host cultural parenting practices that they wish to keep and adopt and ones that do not align with their beliefs (e.g., Cheah et al., 2013; Costigan & Su, 2008). This may be a tricky process given the stark differences between Chinese and Western parenting norms, particularly regarding parental monitoring and control of children.

Indeed, evidence shows that compared to European American adolescents, Asian American adolescents report significant psychological distress including significantly higher levels of social stress and family conflict, and lower levels of self-esteem (Choi et al., 2006; Hsin & Xie, 2014). Furthermore, compared to those who speak at least some English at home, immigrant adolescents who speak primarily in a language other than English at home are likely to report perceptions that parents are unable or unwilling to help them and difficulty talking to their mothers about problems (Yu et al., 2003). Finally, studies also show that Asian American late adolescents and young adults experience more intergenerational dissonance and conflict with their parents than their U.S.-born counterparts and that it is not uncommon for these youth to attribute psychological distress to relationships with their parents (Lee et al., 2000; Wu & Chao, 2011).

Compared to childhood and adolescence, little is known about the parental monitoring and parent-child relationships of Chinese Canadians young adults. In this research, I explore the

nature of parental monitoring of Chinese Canadian young adults and how interpretations of monitoring relate to the youth adjustment.

Theories of Immigrant-Origin Youth Adaptation, Human Development, and Parenting

Immigrant-origin youth are tasked with developing in an environment that is influenced by a host of cultural, familial, socioeconomical, and demographic factors. Various developmental and family psychology theories are relevant to conceptualizing and understanding the development of immigrant youth. The following section highlights the integrated model of risk and resilience in immigrant-origin children and youth adaptation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018), bioecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), and contextual theory of parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993) as applied to the context of parental monitoring in Chinese culture and Chinese immigrant families. Each theory is relevant to understanding parental monitoring of Chinese Canadian young adults and how it may relate to young adult development and well-being.

Integrated Model of Risk and Resilience in Immigrant-Origin Children

According to Suárez-Orozco and colleagues' (2018) integrative model of immigrant-origin youth adaptation, as children are socialized in a new cultural society, they are challenged to achieve both developmental and acculturative tasks that affect self-esteem, life satisfaction, and psychological well-being. Developmental tasks refer to normative age-appropriate goals that all children are tasked to achieve. In Western cultures, developmental tasks in adolescence include identity development and achieving increased autonomy from parents (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; Erikson, 1963); in young adulthood, tasks include solidifying one's own beliefs, achieving financial independence, deindividuating emotionally from parents, and achieving equality in parent-child relationships (Arnett, 2000; 2001). In Chinese culture,

developmental tasks of young adulthood include increased consideration for others, developing emotional control, and responsibility for one's family and society (Nelson et al., 2004). Acculturative tasks pertain to bridging between multiple cultures and conflicting values (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). For example, with respect to family values, Chinese immigrant youth are often caught in the middle of the pronounced differences between Chinese and Western parenting values and norms. With respect to developmental tasks, Chinese immigrant youth may struggle between the Western notion of developing a personal identity and Chinese culture's general discouragement of doing so due to group-oriented values (Nelson & Chen, 2007; Triandis, 1995).

Bioecological Systems Theory

Parenting practices such as parental monitoring have great influence on youth development (Crouter & Head, 2002). Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems theory of development postulated that an individual's development is the result of multiple systems and processes surrounding them, spanning from proximal microsystems to distal macrosystems, and the interactions of these systems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). This theory has been widely applied to parenting, with the family as the microsystem and parenting as processes with most immediate influence on the developing person (Darling, 2007). Bronfenbrenner's theory inspired a proliferation of research documenting the effects of parenting on child outcomes in various contexts. Studies focusing on parental monitoring in Western families have established the protective effects of parental monitoring against adolescent deviance and problem behaviour (Crouter & Head, 2002; Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Few studies have specifically focused on parental monitoring in Chinese Canadian immigrant families. Most have focused on Chinese families in the United States and on broader parenting styles that include monitoring, such as

tiger parenting (e.g., Kim et al., 2013). Studies of parenting practices relevant to monitoring in Chinese American families have shown links between low inductive reasoning and depressive symptoms (Kim & Ge, 2000) and conduct problems (Liu et al., 2009), and positive effects of parental autonomy support (in the form of low levels of parental psychological control) on adolescent emotional self-regulation (Liew et al., 2014). However, these studies have not embraced the full bioecological model as they tend not to account for other contextual aspects of parenting and parent-child relationships and broader contexts related to culture such as aspects of the school system, parents' workplace, and larger society that influence parents, children, and family processes. They also overly emphasize parents' roles and minimize children's roles in child development.

Contextual Theory of Parenting

The contextual theory of parenting distinguishes between parenting practices (i.e., specific parenting behaviours) and the broader context of parenting (i.e., the constellation of parenting practices). The theory proposes that the effects of a specific parenting practice depend on the other parenting behaviours that accompany it, and on the parent-child relationship quality that is fostered by a group of parenting behaviours (Anderson & Branstetter, 2012; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Smetana et al., 2006).

Focusing specifically on parental monitoring, important factors include actions to monitor children (e.g., attention and tracking of children) and actions to modify children's behaviours which are all affected by parents' motivations (e.g., goals, values, norms; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). The effects of parental monitoring behaviours depend on the foundation of parent-child relationship quality (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Thus, the effect of a parent instigating rules about dating with their adolescent may depend on how the parent is doing so

(i.e., the method), why the parent is doing so (i.e., to ensure child's safety or to steer child toward parental-approved focus on academics), and whether the parent and adolescent have an emotionally warm or hostile relationship. Similarly, the effect of a parent setting rules about the subjects that their young adult can and cannot choose as a university major may depend on whether the advice is given warmly or harshly.

There has been empirical support for the importance of the broader parenting context in Chinese American families. Qin's (2008) qualitative study of non-distressed and distressed Chinese American high achieving adolescents and their parents revealed that non-distressed adolescents had more open parent-child communication compared to distressed adolescents, even though all parents believed in the importance of education and academic achievement. Recent quantitative studies of Chinese immigrant parenting of adolescents have focused on parenting styles. In Kim and colleagues' (2013) study of Chinese American parents of adolescents, parenting was assessed on dimensions of positive parenting (parental warmth, inductive reasoning, monitoring, democratic parenting), and negative parenting (hostility, shaming, psychological control, and punitive parenting). Four parenting profiles emerged, characterized by (1) supportive parenting (high levels of positive parenting, low levels of negative parenting); (2) tiger parenting (high levels of positive and negative parenting); (3) harsh parenting (low levels of positive parenting, high levels of negative parenting); and (4) easygoing parenting (low levels of positive and negative parenting). Results revealed that supportive parenting was associated with the best youth outcomes (low adolescent academic pressure, high academic achievement). Compared to children of supportive parents, children of tiger parents had lower GPA and educational attainment, weaker family obligation values, and more

depressive symptoms. Moreover, children of tiger parents reported outcomes comparable with children of harsh parents (Kim et al., 2013).

Importantly, evidence suggests that the impact of parenting style on child development is nuanced by cultural values. For example, although harsh parenting is linked with negative child outcomes in East Asian Canadian families, the link is much weaker than in European Canadian families, due to the acceptance and norm of punitive parenting in Chinese culture (Ho et al., 2008). Additionally, in a sample of Chinese American families, Fung and Lau (2009) found that not all children of parents who employ physical and verbal punishment endorse high levels of internalizing and externalizing behaviours. Instead, cultural parenting ideologies moderated links between punitive parenting and child behavioural problems such that parental goals of instilling discipline and proper conduct (i.e., training ideology) buffered against negative effects of punitive parenting, while parental goals of instilling shame showed exacerbating effects of punitive parenting (Fung & Lau, 2009). Applied to parental monitoring, it is expectable that the impact of parental monitoring on Chinese Canadian youth adjustment varies depending on how and in what emotional climate and broader family and cultural contexts monitoring is carried out.

Active Role of Children in Development

In the literature on immigrant families, most studies such as the ones reviewed above have been parent-centric and focused solely on types of parenting behaviours and the unidirectional links between parenting and youth outcomes. Until more recently, Bronfenbrenner's theory had only been narrowly applied to parenting, with studies focusing primarily on the role of parents and of interacting systems in affecting child development (Darling, 2007). Although parents unarguably play influential roles in child development, unidirectional linear models such as the contextual theory of parenting have received criticism

for their erroneous assumptions of parents' active and children's passive roles in development (Kuczynski & De Mol, 2015). Darling (2007) argued that a key theme of bioecological systems theory has been neglected by such studies – that the individual in the middle of the circle (i.e., the developing young person) is an active person and central force in their own development. Thus, previous research framing results in terms of unidirectional parental influences on children has largely overlooked the active role of children: children actively shape their environment (e.g., parents' behaviours), the environment responds to them, and the child reacts to these responses (Darling, 2007).

Darling (2007) also highlighted the phenomenological nature of bioecological systems theory such that one's interpretations of situations have consequences. Indeed, it is well-established that youth-reported parenting predicts youth outcomes much more strongly than parent-reported parenting (Abar et al., 2015). Some studies Chinese immigrant adolescents have quantitatively explored this perspective, differentiating between parent-reported and adolescent-reported parenting (e.g., Kim & Ge, 2000). Some have focused more deliberately on the adolescent perspective and on how youths' *interpretations*, rather than perceptions of actual parenting, impact their own well-being. For example, two children may receive the same level of monitoring from parents, but one may interpret monitoring as parental wishes to limit their freedom whereas the other may see it as parental concern for their safety. Such studies have taken a step beyond linking child-reported parenting to various outcomes by distinguishing between children's reports of actual parenting (perceived parenting) and children's desired level of parenting (ideal parenting). Wu and Chao (2005; 2011) investigated discrepancies between Chinese American adolescents' perceptions and ideals of parental warmth and found that discrepancies were associated with increased youth internalizing symptoms. That is, the greater

difference between the level of parental warmth they perceived and the level of warmth they wanted parents to show, the more internalizing symptoms they reported. Camras and colleagues (2012) took an analogous approach and focused on Chinese American adolescents' approval and disapproval of authoritarian parenting. They found that parental coercive authority assertion was linked to youth depressive symptoms and that youth generally disapproved of it. However, benign interpretations of coerciveness (i.e., behaviours stem from parents' good intentions) had a buffering effect. While perceived levels of parenting remained significantly related to youth depressive symptoms, introducing youth interpretations of parenting was incrementally meaningful. Thus, while some parental behaviours may undermine development for many adolescents, the strength of their links to youth maladjustment can depend on how the parenting is perceived and interpreted. Together, these findings highlight the importance of youths' active role in development such that interpretations of perceived parenting against ideals of parenting are relevant to well-being.

Moreover, a core tenet of Bronfenbrenner's legacy is that developmental processes differ in different contexts, such that there are distinct processes and outcomes in different ecological niches (Darling, 2007). Thus, there may be differences in the impact of parental monitoring depending on factors such as the level of acculturation of family members, socioeconomic status, parental employment, and neighbourhood characteristics. To capture these nuances, Kuczynski and De Mol (2015) called for more dynamic, dialectical, and transactional conceptualizations of family functioning that are more reflective of the complexities of real-life family interactions and influence. Taken together, theories suggest that as children are traversing adolescence and young adulthood, they have a hand in influencing their own adjustment through interpretations of parenting and parent-child relationships, and that each child may have unique, culturally

informed perceptions of family environments which then have unique impacts on their development and well-being.

Chinese and Western Values of Parenting and Parental Monitoring

Monitoring has long been considered an important aspect of parenting and refers to a set of parental behaviours to keep track of children's activities and whereabouts, as well as child-disclosure of such information (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Smetana, 2008; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Methods of obtaining such information range from parental control (e.g., setting rules that limit children's activities and that require child disclosure), solicitation (e.g., asking children and others around them), surveillance (e.g., reading children's text messages), to child self-disclosure (Kerr et al., 2010; Lenhart et al., 2010). Parental monitoring has been widely considered a positive parenting strategy when done in conjunction with warmth, reasoning, and support (Steinberg, 2001).

It has been well established in the literature that Chinese and Western cultural views of parenting differ (Chao, 1994). All parents want to raise successful children, but cultures differ in the values and beliefs that guide parenting, resulting in divergent behavioural parenting practices between Chinese and Western families throughout the lifespan. Although the terms "Western" and "Chinese" are used throughout this dissertation to highlight the differences between cultures, it is important to recognize that there is much within-group variability within each culture. Not all members of Chinese society subscribe to traditional Chinese values and norms and not all members of Western societies subscribe to traditional Western values and norms. Additionally, evidence suggests an increasing overlap between Chinese and Western values due to globalization, with Chinese values evolving to incorporate more aspects of Western values

(Nelson & Chen, 2007). Nonetheless, there exist important differences in the two cultural philosophies that are relevant and salient in the understanding of Chinese Canadian families.

Parental monitoring is valued in both Chinese and Western cultures, although the motivations, purposes, and behavioural manifestations of monitoring may differ. Chinese parenting is rooted in Confucian philosophies and principles of *chiao shun* (child training) and *guan* (governance) that emphasize parental control and discipline (Chao, 1994). Parents assume roles as teachers who must deliberately educate their children to become competent adults, while children assume the role of students (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Kim & Wong, 2002). This is based on a belief that humans do not learn unless intentionally taught. High levels of parental involvement and close parental monitoring are necessary for parents to see and correct inappropriate child behaviour in all aspects of life, ranging from day-to-day life decision making, academic performance (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lim & Lim, 2003), career choices (Liu et al., 2015), to choosing a marital partner (Cao et al., 2019). These parent and child roles and behaviours lend themselves naturally to a hierarchical family structure that is central to filial piety, another prominent Chinese family value emphasizing children's deference and obedience to parents throughout their entire lives (Lam, 1997; Sung, 1998). Children are also expected to be disciplined at all times and to behave solemnly, in a serious manner (Kim & Wong, 2002).

Western parenting, on the other hand, is guided by values of fostering independence and autonomy in adolescence (Chao, 1994). Western researchers emphasize parental monitoring primarily as a way to protect children from associating with deviant peers and engaging in problem behaviours such as experimentation with alcohol and drugs and deviant activities (e.g., Fosco et al., 2012). In late adolescence and young adulthood, parent-child relationships are

characterized by more equality in Western families (e.g., Arnett, 2000; Koepke & Denissen, 2012) compared to Chinese traditional family structures.

Taken together, Western monitoring may co-exist with parental goals of fostering children's independence and autonomy, whereas this may not necessarily be the case in Chinese families in which monitoring may be more closely linked to control and autonomy restriction. Additionally, active parental oversight of children in Western cultures may decrease substantially in late adolescence but the role of Chinese parents in children's lives remain prominent and culturally sanctioned well into young adulthood.

Chinese Canadian Young Adults

Chinese in Canada

The Chinese community is one of the oldest ethnic minority communities in Canada, with the first group arriving in the mid-1800s as labour workers (Guo & DeVoretz, 2007; Li, 1998). Since then, Canada has implemented and removed immigration policies that deterred Chinese immigration to Canada (Guo & DeVoretz, 2007; Li, 2005). Guo and DeVoretz (2007) reviewed several immigration policies enacted in the 1960s to 1980s that changed the demographic of Chinese immigrants to Canada. In 1967, Canada implemented the point-immigration system in which individuals were approved for entry to Canada based on education, work experience, age, language abilities, and personal suitability. In 1978, discriminatory barriers against Chinese immigrants that were enacted after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1800s were removed. This allowed skilled workers from China to enter Canada. Finally, the 1985 Business Immigration Program allowed entrepreneurs and investors from Hong Kong and Taiwan to immigrate. Soon after the implementation of these policies, Canada saw an increase in skilled workers and well-educated immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. From the

mid-1980s to mid-1990s, over 350,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in Canada from Hong Kong and China (Li, 2005). Over these decades until the early 2000s, there were increases in the level of education of Chinese immigrants, with dramatic increases of those with professional training and post-secondary education, and English language abilities. Additionally, Chinese immigrants from 1996 to 2001 were younger than those from earlier decades, with over half falling within age 20 to 30 years. Given the high level of education and employability of these immigrants, the children who immigrated with their parents in these decades were likely raised in relatively affluent families and environments.

More recent immigrants and children who were born to immigrants in the 1980s to present have very different experiences in Canada compared to those who settled prior to the 1970s. Whereas Chinese immigrant labour workers in older generations experienced high levels of discrimination and had little to no access to their heritage culture, this was and is not the case for immigrants in later generations (Cheung, 2017). According to Statistics Canada (2007), most of the Chinese immigrants who arrived after the 1970s settled in Vancouver or Toronto, where there were and are large concentrations of Chinese. For the young adults living in these cities, there is an abundance of access to Chinese culture in restaurants, malls, community centers, language schools, and media (e.g., Chinese TV station). This is especially true for those living in Richmond, British Columbia where half of the population is Chinese. Such ethnic enclaves provide a buffer against discrimination (Rumbaut, 2005), and many immigrants from Hong Kong living in Richmond have never experienced racial discrimination (Cheung, 2017). Compared to those living in areas with lower density of Chinese, Chinese young adults in communities like Richmond may also have more freedom to be bicultural and transnational rather than having to choose between a Canadian identity and a Chinese identity. Parents, too, may have more

freedom to decide whether they prefer to follow primarily Chinese parenting traditions without being criticized, or to follow Western traditions or a combination of both.

In contrast, Chinese individuals in communities with low density of Chinese likely have vastly different cultural experiences. For example, Cui (2011) found that youth aged 15 to 25 in Alberta experienced blatant racial discrimination in schools by peers and teachers and were not motivated to connect with their Chinese heritage culture due to society's negative views about it. The author suggested that a lack of Chinese language fluency may undermine parent-child relationships due to decreased ability to communicate. Furthermore, immigrant young adults and adults are more likely to experience depression as the percentage of immigrants living in the region is decreases, due to more frequent experiences and perceptions of discrimination (Jurcik et al., 2013; Stafford et al., 2010). Given that parents tend to acculturate to mainstream cultures slower than children (Telzer, 2010), it is arguable that families living in low ethnic density communities are more likely to experience acculturation gaps. Indeed, Asian American youth living in ethnically dense communities are more strongly oriented to their heritage culture than those living in less ethnically dense communities (Ying et al., 2008).

Whether or not families live in ethnically dense communities, parents and children may experience acculturation gaps that may contribute to intergenerational conflict (Liu et al., 2019; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). Parents who are more oriented to Chinese culture may continue to parent according to Chinese norms even if children desire Canadian norms of parenting, which may increase parent-child conflict. It is also possible for families to experience the reverse, with parents wanting to parent in Canadian traditional ways whereas children prefer Chinese traditions. Notably, there is diversity in family structures and living situations among Chinese Canadian families, contributing to diversity in the nature and quality of parent-child

relationships. In particular, it is not uncommon for Chinese Canadian families to be split between two countries, with mothers and children living in Canada while fathers work in Asia; these families have been described as astronaut families (Waters, 2002). The significantly decreased face-to-face and day-to-day contact between children and fathers in these families raises questions about the role of fathers' parenting in children's lives, and how acculturation gaps affect these relationships.

Young Adulthood

The period of young adulthood was not a life stage that was recognized or discussed until relatively recent socioeconomic changes in North America (Gitelson & McDermott, 2006). In the past, for an individual to reach adulthood, several milestones had to be reached including finishing school, leaving home, finding a job, getting married, and having children (Arnett, 2003). Gitelson and McDermott (2006) reviewed that with the recent labour market requiring higher levels of education for employment, leaving home has become more difficult and has complicated and delayed late adolescents' entrance into adulthood. The period between ages 18 and 25 years, during which many youth enroll in post-secondary education, has been described as emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000). The term young adulthood has been used to denote individuals ages 18 up to 30 years and will be used throughout this dissertation.

Developmental tasks of young adulthood as defined by Western culture are characterized by the development of autonomy, financial independence, achieving equality in parent-child relationships, and taking responsibility for one's own actions (Arnett, 2000; 2001). In contrast, Chinese youth in China have somewhat different views about developmental tasks of young adulthood. Although they reported that taking responsibility for oneself and financial independence are important markers of adulthood, they also endorsed taking responsibility for

others and emotional control as relevant tasks in adulthood (Nelson & Chen, 2007). Additionally, Lam (1997) described that in Chinese culture, marriage is not seen as a milestone of individuation; rather, it is the start of a process of integration. Families are also characterized by tight-knit parent-child relationships, prolonged parental authority over grown children, and dependence of grown children on parents, which are all consistent with Chinese family values (Lam, 1997). There are also culturally-rooted expectations for children to fulfill family obligations to support and respect their families (Fuligni & Pederson, 2002).

Chinese Canadian young adults live at a unique intersection between two distinct sets of values and norms. Research shows that Chinese Canadian young adults are among the ethnic groups that remain living in their parents' home for the longest and the most popular reason for moving out is to pursue educational opportunities (Mitchell, 2004). After pursuing higher education, young adults may move back home for financial reasons (e.g., difficulty affording rent; lack of stable job opportunities), cultural reasons (e.g., cultural expectations for children to move out only upon marriage), and family relationships (e.g., strong parental relationship quality and children's desires to be close to parents; Mitchell et al., 2004). The intersection between cultural expectations and practical barriers for young adults to move out calls for a need to better understand and support how parent-young adult relationships are navigated.

Measurement and Conceptualization of Parental Monitoring

There has been much criticism in the literature about the measurement of parental monitoring, which in turn raises questions about the field's conceptualization of the construct. A number of distinct constructs are embedded in the definition of parental monitoring including parental behaviours, parental knowledge, and child disclosure. Additionally, there are changes in the behavioural manifestation of parental monitoring across developmental stages (Dishion &

McMahon, 1998). Despite great variability in how monitoring is defined and what monitoring looks like at different developmental stages, the majority of studies on parental monitoring have used measures that solely assess parental knowledge (Stattin & Kerr, 2000).

Monitoring of Adolescents

Prominent parental monitoring researchers have raised concerns about the reliability and validity of parental monitoring scales. Some examples of parental monitoring measures include a widely used set of items that Brown and colleagues (1993) compiled to measure adolescent-reported parental monitoring, including five items that assess how much their parents *really* know about who their children's friends are, how they spend their money, where they go after school and at night, and their activities during their free time (Anderson & Branstetter, 2012; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). A 3-item measure of parental monitoring adapted from the Conger, Patterson, and Ge's (1995) Iowa Youth and Families Project assessing parental knowledge of adolescents' whereabouts, who they are with, and when they come home has been widely used in studies of Chinese American adolescents (e.g., Kim et al., 2013). In Guilamo-Ramos, Jaccard, and Dittus' (2010) book *Parental Monitoring of Adolescents*, researchers such as Dishion, Laird, and Stattin questioned the internal consistencies of scales that are comprised of a small number of items, and the validity of the operationalization of parental monitoring using items that measure only parental monitoring knowledge. For example, a study purporting to elucidate links between parental monitoring and child outcomes may have only revealed links between parental monitoring *knowledge* and outcomes (Anderson & Branstetter, 2012). Additionally, Stattin and Kerr (2000) noted that such parental knowledge is only the final product and does not take into consideration how and from whom they achieved this knowledge. Indeed, children are the primary source for parental monitoring knowledge (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Findings from studies

of child disclosure suggest that the construct of parental monitoring may need to be expanded and viewed as a relational construct rather than a parenting construct. That is, parental monitoring is rooted in the parent-child relationship rather than solely in the behaviours of the parent and the measurement of the construct should reflect this.

Other measures of parental monitoring have comprised of items that assess more than just parental monitoring knowledge. Anderson and Branstetter (2012) reviewed that Small and Kerns' (1993) 8-item and Silverberg and Small's (1991) 11-item measures of monitoring tap into several constructs: parental knowledge (e.g., knowing child's location after school), parental behaviour (e.g., discussing child's social plans), and adolescent self-disclosure (e.g., child telling parents where they are going). These measures assess very distinct aspects of monitoring: the end product (i.e., knowledge), parental behaviour, and parent-child communication (child disclosure). The authors commented that scales have not necessarily been used in ways that matched the research questions being asked. For example, a study using a multidimensional scale may have elucidated links between a broader parenting style and child outcomes, rather than between *monitoring* and child outcomes.

Research on Chinese families with adolescents in North America have focused more on aspects of parental control than on parental monitoring (Lim & Lim, 2003). Although these studies have focused on aspects of control, monitoring is often a prerequisite for control. Chao and Aque (2009) identified three aspects of parental control—strictness, providing structure, and psychological control—in a sample of diverse Asian American ninth graders. Strictness and providing structure involve setting rules about the youth behaviours and activities that are allowed versus prohibited, which is one important aspect of monitoring.

Along the same vein, some researchers have used broader conceptualizations of monitoring and contended that monitoring should be defined as a three-step process that includes parental overt expectations for children, direct monitoring of children to ensure that expectations are met, and instituting consequences when expectations are not met or are violated (Anderson & Branstetter, 2012; Jaccard et al., 2005). This raises questions about the overlap between monitoring and control. Figure 1 depicts parent and child behaviours that have been measured by the range of measures purporting to measure monitoring, categorized as monitoring, control, or both. Notably, many "monitoring" behaviours can also be considered as control. The overlap between monitoring and control highlights the lack of consensus in the field on how parental monitoring should be defined, conceptualized, and measured, and the need to understand how the two constructs are related.

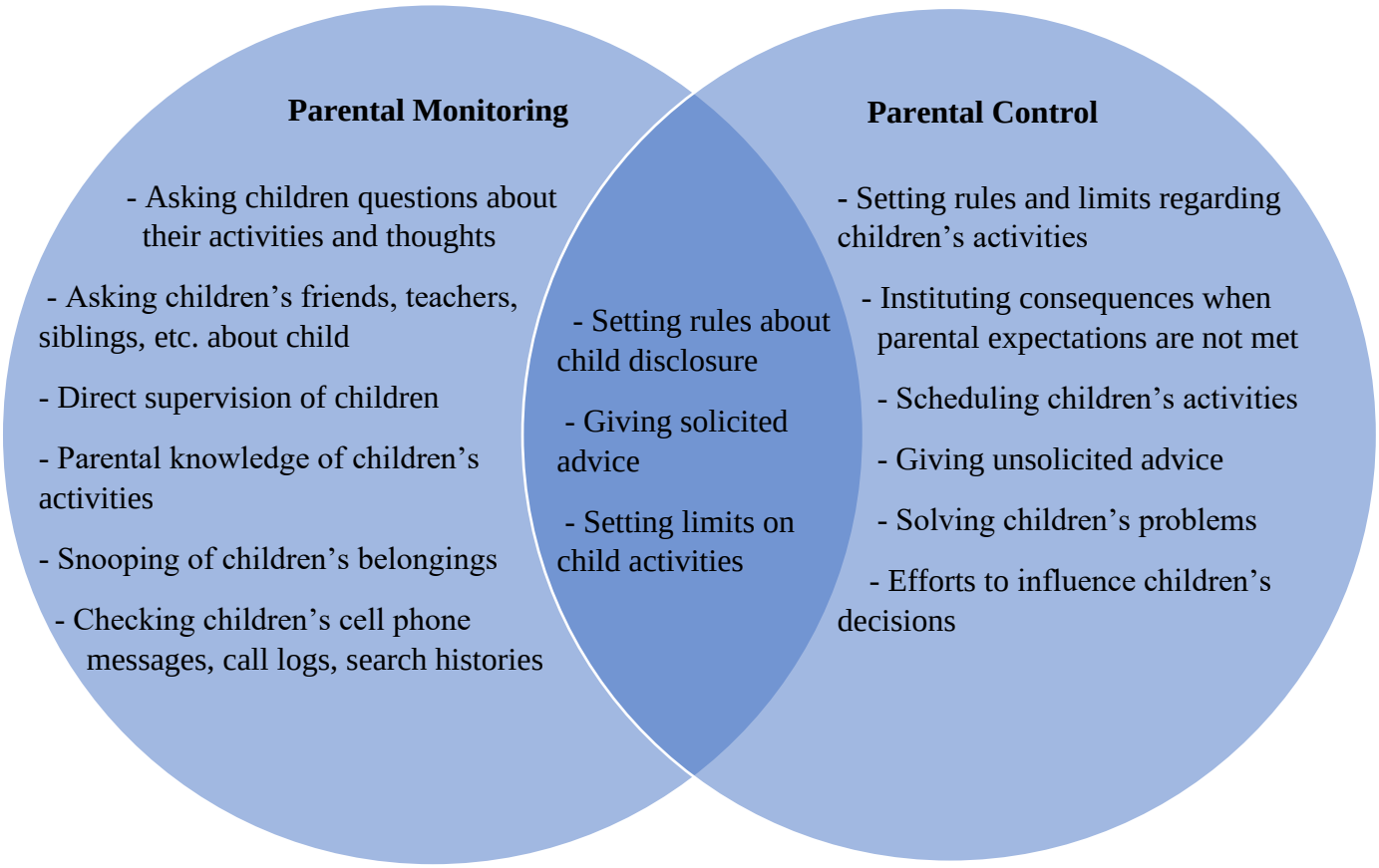

Figure 1. **S**imilarities and differences between parental monitoring and control

The bulk of the measures reviewed above were developed in Western populations. Some of these measures have since been validated in diverse populations. However, parental monitoring practices are culturally constructed, and it is crucial to consider how different cultural values (e.g., of collectivism versus individualism) may translate to distinct sets of monitoring practices across cultures (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2010). This concept is particularly relevant when considering parental monitoring of young adults, as this is possibly the developmental stage in which there is the most divergence between Chinese and Western cultural norms.

Monitoring of Young Adults

There is little research on parental monitoring of young adults. The existing research on parenting behaviours related to monitoring raises more questions than provides answers about conceptualizations of parenting of young adult children. The literature on parenting of young adults has used more negative language than discourse on parenting of children and adolescents. Instead of *monitoring* per se, research has focused on invasive parenting and overparenting, which both encompass aspects of monitoring. This may reflect researchers' assumptions about the appropriateness of parental monitoring in young adulthood and further raises questions about the links between monitoring and control.

In a sample of White Americans aged 18 to 30 years, Ledbetter and Vik (2012) developed the 11-item Parental Invasive Behavior Instrument to assess parents' attempts to invade their young adult children's privacy. The scale assesses mediated invasion (e.g., checking children's cell phone and online communications), verbal invasion (e.g., giving unwanted advice), and spatial invasion (e.g., going through child's belongings without permission, entering

child's room without knocking). Notably, the mediated invasion scale includes behaviours that parents of adolescents may engage in, such as checking up on children through social media.

Ledbetter and Vik (2012) also developed the 15-item Children's Defensive Behavior Instrument to assess young adults' defensive behaviours against parental invasion of privacy in three dimensions: secrecy (e.g., lying about personal life), mediated defense (e.g., changing passwords for online accounts), avoidance (e.g., avoid responding to parents' calls), direct defense (e.g., asking parents not to invade privacy), and peer defense (e.g., avoiding making phone calls when parents are around). The fact that the authors developed separate measures of parent and child behaviour further supports monitoring as a relational construct, in line with literature on child disclosure.

With a sample of Chinese university students living in Hong Kong, Leung and Shek (2018) created and validated the Chinese Paternal/Maternal Overparenting Scale (CPOS/CMOS) that assess a range of youth-reported parenting attitudes, expectations, and behaviours. The CPOS and CMOS consist of 44 items each measuring eight dimensions: (1) close monitoring (e.g., "report everything to father/mother"), (2) intrusion of child's life and direction (e.g., "Father/mother expects me to follow his/her direction"), (3) strong emphasis on child's academic performance (e.g., "Father/mother tries every effort to raise my academic result"), (4) frequent comparisons on child's achievement with peers (e.g., father/mother 'loses face' when I perform worse than others), (5) anticipatory problem-solving ("father/mother intervenes when he/she anticipates that I will be in trouble"), (6) overscheduling of child's activities (e.g., "I live under father/mother's schedule"), (7) excessive care (e.g., "father/mother fulfills whatever I want), and (8) excessive affective involvement (e.g., "whenever I fail, father/mother feels more sad than I do"). Monitoring is only one of the eight dimensions in the CPOS/CMOS and is measured by

four items assessing parents' general close monitoring of children, child disclosure, parental expectations for child disclosure, and parental tracking of children.

Much of the literature is based on assumptions that monitoring should decrease dramatically in late adolescence and end in young adulthood; and the monitoring that does occur in young adulthood is excessive, inappropriate, and more related to parental control. This is reflected in the language used to discuss these constructs – in adolescence, it is *monitoring*, but in young adulthood, it is *over*parenting. Additionally, the literatures on changes in parent-child communication over time and on identity development suggest that the optimal development occurs when parents can let go of their caretaking role as children traverse adolescence (Koepke & Denissen, 2012). However, it is also clear that the some of the themes and items that emerged in the CPOS/CMOS are rooted in Chinese cultural beliefs and norms that have positive connotations. For example, the Strong Emphasis on Child's Academic Performance and Frequent Comparisons of Child's Achievement with Peers scales reflect the cultural emphasis on academic achievement. Intrusion of Child's Life and Direction, and Overscheduling of Child's Activities scales reflect the lifelong hierarchical parent-child relationship and prolonged parental guidance. Thus, whereas Western researchers have supported certain definitions of parental monitoring and operated on assumptions that monitoring is developmentally inappropriate in young adulthood, these may not characterize the full gamut of monitoring behaviours in Chinese and Chinese immigrant parents. It is reasonable to expect that parental monitoring in Chinese families may be comprised of higher degrees and longer duration of oversight in certain culturally-relevant aspects of children's lives (e.g., family obligations, academic achievement) than in Western families. Additionally, such monitoring behaviours may not necessarily have negative connotations and may have different effects in different cultural contexts.

Additionally, one drawback to the conceptualization of overparenting is that the role of parental monitoring remains unclear. Discourse on constructs of invasive parenting and overparenting are focused more on parental control rather than monitoring, and do not explicitly discuss or assess control behaviours vis-à-vis parental monitoring behaviours. Yet parental involvement and control both require parental knowledge about children's day-to-day life and parental monitoring efforts to seek this knowledge. Moreover, monitoring and control are distinct constructs with the former being parental behaviours to gain awareness and knowledge and the latter encompassing parental efforts to influence child behaviour (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2010). It is important to tease apart monitoring and control such as by considering the motivations for parental monitoring and investigating whether parental monitoring behaviours without subsequent efforts to behaviourally or psychologically control have similar effects of overparenting and the role of overall parenting style (i.e., context) in this link.

Thus, there is a need for a multi-dimensional measure of parental monitoring of young adults that adequately measures and distinguishes between control and monitoring, monitoring knowledge and monitoring behaviours, parental and child behaviours, and motivations for parental monitoring. Additionally, in Chinese immigrant samples, measures of monitoring must include culturally relevant items that may have benign connotations in Chinese culture and ones that may have negative connotations in Western culture (e.g., surveillance) and vice versa. Only with a relational conceptualization of monitoring and a strong assessment tool reflecting such can the field's knowledge be advanced to better understand the processes of how different dimensions of parental monitoring impact young adult well-being. In this dissertation, the term parental monitoring will be used to describe a set of behaviours aimed at increasing parental

knowledge of children's activities, which encompass both parental behaviours (e.g., solicitation, covert monitoring, setting rules for child disclosure) and child behaviours (e.g., disclosure).

The Nature and Impact of Parental Monitoring Across the Lifespan

The following section reviews relevant empirical literature on parental monitoring in adolescence and young adulthood in Chinese societies, Western culture (i.e., non-immigrant Caucasians in North America), and in Chinese immigrant families in North America.

Parental Monitoring in Adolescence

There are many similarities in parental monitoring of adolescents in China and North America. In both societies, parental monitoring takes many forms including parental control over teenagers' leisure time, rules requiring child disclosure, and solicitation via methods such as asking children and those around them questions which are aimed to increase parental knowledge and youth disclosure (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Hawk, 2017; Kerr et al., 2010; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Positive effects of parental monitoring have been documented in both Chinese and Western societies, particularly with regard to decreased risk of problem behaviours (e.g., cigarette smoking, delinquency, violence, risk-taking) and higher self-esteem and academic achievement (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Laird et al., 2003; Laird et al., 2009; Li et al., 2003; Weiss et al., 2006). Monitoring has also been linked to more trust in parents in Chinese families in China (Ying et al., 2015).

Studies also show that many parents engage in covert forms of monitoring in the form of secretly monitoring children's communications (e.g., e-mail, text messages) and belongings (e.g., diaries), though the frequency was much lower than parental control and solicitation (Hawk, 2017; Rote & Smetana, 2018). These covert monitoring behaviours, also called snooping, are associated with youth perceptions of parental invasion of privacy, which in turn links to lower

levels of child disclosure and higher levels of secrecy in Chinese adolescents (Hawk, 2017). Snooping is also linked to more depressive symptoms and negative family interactions in White adolescents in North America (Rote & Smetana, 2018). One notable caveat to research on covert monitoring is the questionable accuracy of adolescent reports of parental covert monitoring. It is not clear how youth become aware of covert monitoring that occurs in the absence of the youth (e.g., snooping through personal belongings when youth are not at home). Thus, youth reports of covert monitoring may be based on a combination of suspicions and known behaviours (e.g., if parents purposefully or inadvertently reveal their snooping behaviours).

Overall, there are many similarities between parental monitoring of adolescents in Chinese and Western cultures. At this developmental stage, parents in both cultures are concerned about children's whereabouts, social relationships, involvement in risky behaviours, and safety. They primarily use solicitation and control to ensure children's healthy development with a minority of parents resolving to covert behaviours. In both cultures, solicitation and control tend to have beneficial effects on children whereas covert monitoring has negative connotations and effects. The major cultural difference may be in the domains in which parents monitor and how much monitoring is done in those domains. Particularly, few Western studies focus on monitoring of children's academics compared to studies on Chinese populations, reflecting the strong Chinese cultural emphasis on academic excellence (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Findings also suggest the inappropriateness of covert forms of parenting in both cultures, as seen by the negative effects of invasive parenting on adolescent development.

In Chinese American families with adolescents, literature has focused on monitoring vis-à-vis other parental behaviours. Chao and Aque (2009) found that strictness and psychological control significantly predicted youth internalizing symptoms whereas the more neutral behaviour

of providing structure (which is most in line with monitoring) did not. Similarly, parenting styles that include high levels of monitoring and authoritative parenting has been linked to the best outcomes in Chinese American adolescents whereas high levels of monitoring accompanied by hostile and punitive parenting was linked to the low child psychological adjustment (Kim et al., 2013).

Parental Monitoring in Young Adulthood

Little is currently known about parental monitoring of young adults. Parental monitoring may interfere with the developmental tasks of young adulthood (e.g., achievement of independence and self-sufficiency) depending on the manifestation of parental monitoring behaviours. Findings from both American and Chinese societies suggest that there is a fine line between beneficial and detrimental levels of monitoring. In American samples, one study found that prolonged monitoring from high school through the first term of college was linked to fewer positive beliefs about alcohol and lower alcohol consumption in young adults (Turrisi et al., 2010). On the other hand, invasive parenting (including covert forms of monitoring) has been associated with lower child-reported family satisfaction in White young adults aged 18 to 30 years (Ledbetter & Vik, 2012). Overparenting has been found to undermine young-adult-reported quality of parent-child communication and family satisfaction and to be associated with decreased psychological well-being and increased prescription medication use for anxiety and depression (LeMoyne & Buchanan, 2011).

In Chinese societies, one can expect that parents are culturally motivated and able to continue to monitor children's lives well into early adulthood due to cultural expectations for children to continue to live with parents until marriage (Chao & Tseng, 2002) and culturally-rooted responsibility for parents to ensure daughters' chastity before marriage (Shek, 2007).

Interestingly, Leung and Shek's (2018) investigations of Hong Kong Chinese university students' experiences of overparenting revealed eight dimensions of overparenting that were closely linked to psychological control, behavioural control, as well as parental support. Overparenting was linked to lower child self-efficacy and more narcissism. The hypothesized mechanisms behind the detrimental effects of overparenting and overcontrol include intrusion of young adults' need for privacy, reduced perceived autonomy, disrupted identity formation, and lack of chances to demonstrate abilities and competence (Leung & Shek, 2018; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). Yet, the positive link between overparenting and parental support may reflect the greater cultural appropriateness of some (but not all) monitoring behaviours in young adulthood in Chinese culture. This preliminary investigation suggests that parenting of young adults in Chinese culture is complex, and that Chinese young adults may have mixed feelings about culturally sanctioned parental behaviours in this developmental stage. On the one hand, overparenting may be seen as parental love and care. On the other hand, overparenting may also be seen as interfering with youths' well-being.

There are no known quantitative studies on parental monitoring in Chinese families with young adults in North America. Liu and colleagues (2019) focused on intergenerational cultural conflict in Chinese and Taiwanese Americans aged 25 to 35 years. In their qualitative study, most young adults perceived their parents as following Chinese traditional parenting values. There was a high prevalence of reports of past (during adolescence) and present parent-child conflict regarding romantic choices (e.g., timing of dating initiation, parental strictness about choice of partner), lifestyle choices (e.g., political interests, traditions, gender norms), and family obligations (e.g., amount of time spent together as a family, frequency of family communication), with present conflict causing ongoing stress. Although the researchers did not

focus specifically on parental behaviours, it is likely that parent-child conflicts in these highly culturally-relevant domains are characterized at least to some degree by parental efforts to monitor, control, and guide children toward parent-approved choices. This suggests that parents continue to monitor the lives of grown children to a great degree and that parental monitoring continues to be a salient and relevant concern for many Chinese immigrant young adults. Furthermore, young adults who reported persistent challenges in the parent-child relationship reported using a range of avoidant and active coping strategies such as limiting self-disclosure, avoiding conflict, distancing, and perspective taking (Liu et al., 2019), presumably to make autonomous decisions while also maintaining family harmony.

In a qualitative study of Chinese Canadian youth aged 16 to 21 years, Lam (2003) found that youth perceived their parents as using covert control, or indirect and tactful strategies, to influence them to make certain academic and career choices. Parents with intentions to guide children toward approved choices likely need to monitor their children's desires and thought processes (i.e., parental knowledge) in order to nuance their guidance. Youth reported negative feelings about covert control and being guided toward paths they did not desire, but recognized parents' benevolent intentions and wisdom. Consistent with findings from Leung and Shek's (2018) study of young adults in Hong Kong, studies of Chinese immigrant youth suggest that many adolescents and young adults may have mixed feelings and experiences about parental control. On one hand, the positive link between parental control and internalizing symptoms suggests that immigrant youth may desire lower levels of parental control than parents engage in (though parents may also be more concerned about more anxious children). On the other hand, youth also understand that control stems from parental love and good intentions.

Demographic and Contextual Factors in Monitoring

There are a number of demographic and contextual factors that may influence parental monitoring. Child age may influence parents' level of monitoring. It is expected parental monitoring of day-to-day life activities will decrease as child age increases from 18 to 30 years, especially if grown children have achieved stable employment and independent living. However, monitoring may possibly increase again once they begin raising children, given the importance of elders in the family. With respect to gender, daughters are generally monitored more than sons in Chinese culture (Li et al., 2003).

Neighbourhood characteristics may also affect monitoring. Parents living in poverty and who are affected by unemployment may monitor children at higher levels to ensure their safety. Additionally, those living in low ethnic density neighbourhoods may experience discrimination which may drive parents to hold on more strongly to Chinese heritage and reject Western cultural norms which may increase monitoring (Berry & Hou, 2017).

Furthermore, the experiences of young adults living at home and those living apart from parents may differ. Parents have less access to information about grown children who do not live at home and may develop a set of monitoring behaviours that differ from those whose children still live at home. The amount of parental knowledge on children who live apart from parents is expected to be lower than that of children who live at home.

Development of Culturally Appropriate Measurement Tools

In this dissertation, I aimed to assemble a culturally and developmentally appropriate scale to measure parental monitoring of Chinese immigrant young adults. This endeavour warrants a discussion of emic and etic approaches to the study of psychology and approaches to cross-cultural adaptation of psychological measures. Emic approaches involve understanding a phenomenon from the perspective of the target cultural population whereas etic approaches apply

concepts developed in one culture to another culture (Flaherty et al., 1998; Triandis, 2000). Thus, emic approaches are emphasized by cultural psychological studies focused on documenting processes that are bound to one culture. Etic approaches are emphasized by cross-cultural studies focused on documenting differences between cultures (Flaherty et al., 1998). When one wishes to conduct an etic, cross-cultural study, cross-cultural adaptation of measurement tools is needed to ensure that the original scale and the new scale measure the construct equivalently in the original and target populations (Beaton et al., 2000).

The decision of whether cultural adaptation of an existing measure is required depends on how researchers wish to use the measure. Beaton and colleagues' (2000) guidelines for cross-cultural adaptation of self-report measures indicate that translation and/or cultural adaptation may be needed when a researcher wishes to use an existing measure in a different culture, language, or country. Cultural adaptation is needed when an existing scale will be administered to established or new immigrants in the country where the measure was developed, or in another country, regardless of whether that country uses the same or a different language than the country in which the measure was originally developed (Beaton et al., 2000).

Researchers in cross-cultural psychology have published prolifically on the development of measures appropriate for use in multiple cultures. Much of this literature has focused on the translation of English measures into the native languages of the cultures of interest and on issues of bias and equivalence (van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2004). In their review of methods of cross-cultural adaptation, van de Vijver and Poortinga (2004) reviewed that the most popular and easiest method is *application* which involves translating and back-translating an existing measure and is only appropriate when major changes in wording of items are not needed. The drawback is that application can only be used reliably and validly when bias is not expected,

which is rare. When bias is expected (e.g, when a measure does not adequately capture a construct in one group versus another), adaptation is necessary. *Adaptation* involves a combination of translating some items and changing other items to maximize the appropriateness of the measure in the culture of interest. This method is aimed at getting an adequate coverage of the construct in the cultural group of interest and does not necessarily involve a goal of making cross-cultural comparisons. When the purpose of a measure is to make cross-cultural comparisons, it is necessary to validate cross-cultural equivalence in a stepwise fashion, ensuring equivalence of the content of the items, semantics, method of assessment (technical equivalence), interpretation of scores (criterion equivalence), and the construct itself (conceptual equivalence; Beaton et al., 2000; Flaherty et al., 1998).

When it is not possible to translate or adapt an existing measure to a new culture because the constructs are too different across cultures, it is necessary to create an entirely new measure (Flaherty et al., 1998; van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2004). One approach to develop a new measure using an emic perspective is to conduct focus groups with members of the population of interest to elucidate important aspects of the construct of interest and to use qualitative data to create lists of items, followed by psychometrically evaluating them for reliability and validity.

Another approach in understanding a construct as defined by the culture of interest is cultural domain analysis (Borgatti, 1998). Cultural domain analysis is used to determine a set of items that are relevant to a construct of interest. For example, the concept of distress may be primarily expressed by feelings of depression, loss of motivation, and guilt in one culture, whereas in another, it may be primarily expressed by lethargy and loss of appetite. Borgatti's (1998) *freelisting* method can be used to generate items capturing how a culture defines and understands a cultural domain or construct, and involves asking participants to list one-word or

one-phrase examples of the construct of interest, such as “what are some common problems you experience when you are feeling down?” Borgatti (1998) recommends conducting freelisting with at least 30 informants and using the Anthropac program (Borgatti, 1992) to conduct quantitative analyses of freelist data. The frequency and order of distinct items are examined to determine the structure of the domain, with frequently mentioned items and those mentioned earlier in freelists forming the core of the construct, and uncommon items forming the periphery. The central items may then be used to form the basis of a new measure. Smith’s index of salience is used to measure the centrality/salience of items in the construct (Smith & Borgatti, 1997).

Discrepancies and Interpretations of Parental Monitoring

With a newly assembled measure of parental monitoring, I sought to understand the effects of parental monitoring and interpretations of parental monitoring. Specifically, I investigated the ability of discrepancies between youths’ ideals and perceptions of parental monitoring (i.e., parenting discrepancies) to predict individual well-being. The following sections review how parenting discrepancies may arise and what effects they may have on young adult adaptation, similarities and differences between mothers’ and fathers’ monitoring, and parental motivations for monitoring in young adulthood.

Discrepancies between Ideal and Perceived Parental Monitoring

Upon immigration, parents often acculturate to the host culture more slowly than children, leading to acculturation gaps within the family (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Phinney et al., 2000; Telzer, 2010). Given the differences between Chinese and Western traditional values about parenting of young adults, Chinese parents and children with immigrant backgrounds may experience acculturation gaps in the form of contradictory opinions about appropriate parental

monitoring behaviours (i.e., ideal parental monitoring). These trends predict that Chinese immigrant parents would hold strongly onto Chinese traditional values of monitoring whereas children would desire Western ways of monitoring. Indeed, Chinese American adolescents report the same ideals (preferences) of parental warmth and parent-child open communication as European American adolescents (Wu & Chao, 2005; 2011). Additionally, Wu and Chao (2005; 2011) found that Chinese American adolescents reported more discrepancies between ideal parental warmth and actual parental warmth than European American adolescents, likely due to Chinese norms of more implicit expressions of warmth. Similarly, my research showed that Chinese Canadians reported the same desires for parenting as White Canadians: moderate to high levels of warmth, reasoning, and monitoring from both fathers and mothers (So, 2016).

However, there is diversity in acculturation and other types of acculturation gaps are not uncommon, such as parents being more orientated to Canadian culture than their children. Additionally, not all parent-child dyads experience gaps. Furthermore, evidence suggests that Chinese culture is evolving and becoming more Westernized due to globalization. The influence of Confucian values on parenting in Chinese parents in China and Canada has decreased, and hierarchies within families have been eroding (Chuang, 2009). Chinese parents have increasingly encouraged their children to be independent and assertive due to Chinese society's increased focus on success in increasingly competitive business environments (Nelson & Chen, 2007). Thus, Chinese immigrant parents' parenting behaviours and values may be shifting toward Western values. However, it is important to recognize this research was conducted with samples of highly educated parents who may have more access to Western values and thus there is likely large variability amongst Chinese and Chinese immigrant parents in their parenting values.

Additionally, children may also engage with their heritage culture in the form of cultural maintenance and enculturation experiences in the home, heritage language classes, through heritage media, and interacting with family and friends living in their heritage country which influences their heritage cultural orientation (Ferguson et al., 2016). For example, my research found that both Chinese Canadian immigrant-origin adolescents and White Canadians reported desires of low levels of harsh discipline, significantly more Chinese adolescents indicated that mothers and fathers should hit their children as a form of discipline, consistent with Chinese traditional practices (So, 2016). This suggests that youth may desire a set of Western parenting behaviours while also adopting Chinese cultural values, reflecting their position at the intersection of two cultures. Put together, by the time Chinese Canadian children are in early adulthood, they may have developed standards and preferences for parental monitoring based on their unique acculturation and enculturation experiences in Western and Chinese cultures, respectively. The diversity in these experiences contributes to diversity in the directions and magnitude of discrepancies between ideal and perceived parenting.

Using the lens of viewing children as active individuals and focusing on the child perspective, Chinese Canadian children may experience discrepancies between the parenting they receive (i.e., perceived parenting) and the parenting they desire (i.e., ideal parenting) by actively comparing their parenting ideals against perceived parenting, resulting in conclusions of whether parenting is “too much,” “too little,” or “just right.” Given the large within-group variability of ideals of parenting, parents’ actual parenting, and subsequently children’s perceived parenting, it is not helpful nor efficient to investigate discrepancies between ideal and perceived parenting at a group level. To take into account individual differences, it is more useful to focus on the individual level and on within-child parenting discrepancies.

Impact of Parenting Discrepancies

Few studies have focused on within-child parenting discrepancies. Wu and Chao (2005; 2011) found negative effects of parenting discrepancies in parental warmth on adolescent adjustment. Furthermore, these effects were more pronounced for second-generation compared to first generation adolescents (Wu & Chao, 2011), which may in part be due to greater parent-child acculturation gaps for second-generation youth. In my research, using polynomial regression and response surface analysis, I found that the greater magnitude of discrepancies between Chinese Canadian adolescents' desired and perceived levels of parental monitoring knowledge from fathers, the more depressive symptoms children reported (So & Costigan, 2021). Furthermore, adolescents' Chinese cultural orientation moderated links between parenting discrepancies in warmth and monitoring and depressive symptoms, such that discrepancies in parental warmth predicted worse outcomes for children with strong Chinese values and discrepancies in parental monitoring knowledge predicted worse outcomes for children with weak Chinese values (So & Costigan, 2019). No known studies have been conducted to examine parenting discrepancies in Chinese immigrant-origin adult-aged children. Research is needed to determine whether findings in childhood and adolescence replicate in young adulthood. I proposed that Chinese Canadian young adults will both report a variety of parental monitoring discrepancies, and that discrepancies will predict lower levels of individual adjustment.

Focusing on more proximal indicators of well-being in young adulthood, research suggests that discrepancies in parental monitoring and control may impact youth development of self-efficacy. As discussed earlier, excessive parental monitoring may interfere with adolescent and young adult developmental tasks of achieving independence and autonomy. Without opportunities to make one's own decisions, youth may fail to develop a strong sense of self-

efficacy, or one's judgement of how well one can carry out tasks required to achieve a specific goal (Bandura, 1997). Indeed, the restrictive nature of authoritarian parenting has been linked to decreased self-efficacy and self-esteem in White American youth in the transition from high school to college (Smith, 2007). Additionally, overparenting has been negatively associated with self-efficacy in young adults due to lack of chances for trial and error (Darlow et al., 2017). Low self-efficacy has in turn been linked to increased risk of anxiety and depression in White American adolescents (Muris, 2002) and depressive symptoms in White American undergraduate students (Soysa & Wilcomb, 2015). In the context of this dissertation, it was important to explore whether controlling aspects of parental monitoring have more negative associations with young adult self-efficacy than less controlling aspects of parental monitoring.

Mothers versus Fathers' Parenting

The field of family psychology is only beginning to elucidate the similarities and differences between mothering and fathering (Chuang, 2013) and between youths' expectations for and discrepancies in mothers' versus fathers' parenting (So, 2016; So & Costigan, 2019; So & Costigan, 2021). The majority of parenting research, especially on Chinese families in North America, has focused on mothers' parenting or on mothers' and fathers' parenting as a unit, in part due to difficulties in recruiting fathers to participate in research studies. Compared to mothers, there is less knowledge about fathering in contemporary times. Chuang and Su (2009) reviewed that prior to more recent research, the field relied on cultural stereotypes and old adages that characterized Chinese fathers as breadwinners and strict authoritarians who show little affection and mothers as warm and nurturing figures in charge of childrearing. Contrarily, subsequent findings have shown that Taiwanese American mothers and fathers use comparable levels of authoritarian and authoritative parenting (Chao & Kim, 2000) and that fathers in China

assume a fair share of domestic and childrearing tasks (Chuang, 2013). Moreover, findings show that Chinese fathers do show affection to their toddler children (Chuang, 2013). It has been suggested that parents should be described by new adages such as "strict mothers, kind fathers," or "stricter and kinder mothers with detached fathers" (Shek, 2008, p. 678).

Focusing on Chinese Canadian early adolescents, my research showed that children had similar levels of perceived and ideal monitoring knowledge from mothers and fathers (So, 2016). Despite these similarities, evidence suggests that youth may have different interpretations and reactions to mothers' and fathers' parenting. For example, discrepancies between perceptions and ideals of fathers' but not mothers' monitoring were linked to lower psychological well-being in adolescents (So, 2016). Notably, discrepancies in both directions (i.e., over-monitoring and under-monitoring) were associated with maladjustment, suggesting that discrepancies may reflect unmet expectations regarding immigrant fathers' involvement in youths' lives and father-child relationship quality. It is possible that such unmet expectations may arise from changes in the family due to immigration and cultural differences. Upon immigration, many fathers work long hours in order to provide for the family financially, leaving little time and energy for involvement in their teens' lives (Qin, 2009). Furthermore, when fathers *are* involved, some adolescents report dissatisfaction that fathers tended to focus their communication only on whether adolescents had eaten and how their academic studies were going, rather than on adolescents' day-to-day life experiences (Qin, 2009).

Furthermore, my research also showed that adolescent reports of mothers' monitoring behaviours showed lower internal consistency than reports of fathers' monitoring behaviours (So & Costigan, 2021). In day-to-day life, mothers' monitoring behaviours may be less consistent than those of fathers. As a result, congruence and discrepancies regarding mothers' monitoring

may be more variable across time, which may reduce the magnitude and consistency of their impact on youth development and well-being. Additionally, upon immigration, the role of Chinese mothers may be more standardized than that of fathers, with mothers spending more time with their children than fathers (Kim & Wong, 2002). In contrast, the role of fathers as the breadwinner in the family may become less clear in the context of immigration due to difficulty finding a job. This may contribute to greater uncertainty and lower consistency in youths' expectations for fathers' parenting.

More knowledge is needed on the ways in which mothers and fathers remain aware and involved in their young adult children's lives, how such involvement is interpreted by young adults, and the impact of monitoring on young adult development and well-being. Do mothers and fathers monitor their young adults in different ways? Do young adults welcome monitoring from mothers more than fathers, vice versa, or equally? Do young adults perceive that mothers and fathers have different motivations for monitoring? These are all questions that need to be explored to understand the family experiences of Chinese Canadian young adults.

Motivations for Parental Monitoring

The mechanisms of the negative effects of parenting discrepancies have not been explicitly studied. One potential mechanism may be youth perceptions of parental motivations for parental monitoring. Camras and colleagues' (2012) study showed that Chinese American adolescents generally disapproved of parental coercive behaviours (analogous to parenting discrepancies) and that parental coercion was negatively associated with youth depressive symptoms. However, if youth had benign interpretations of parental coercion, such that they saw coercive behaviours as originating from parental good intentions, the negative effects of parental coercion on depressive symptoms were mitigated.

Discrepancies may reflect children's unmet expectations for parenting and unmet needs of development. For example, youth who perceive getting too little parental warmth may have unmet needs for love and affection. Thus, they may attribute lack of warmth to parents' lack of concern and care for the child. Youth who perceive being over-monitored by their parents may be deprived of their need for privacy and autonomy and attribute it to parental need to control the child's life. These unmet needs and perceptions of negative parental motivations may then lead to negative individual outcomes. However, it is also possible that youth may hold benign or positive interpretations of parental behaviours. For example, the former youth may perceive that parents do care for them but may not show it in ways that are consistent with Western cultural norms (e.g., verbal and physical affection). The latter may perceive that monitoring is motivated by parental care and concern for the youth's well-being and success, parental beliefs about failure, or parental desires to be emotionally connected to the youth.

Overview of Research Objectives

In Chapter 2, I sought to uncover the range of Chinese Canadian young adults' perceived parental monitoring behaviours and motivations for such behaviours in a qualitative study using freelisting methodology. In Chapter 3, I sought to understand the construct of monitoring in this demographic by creating and evaluating a multidimensional measure of parental monitoring of Chinese Canadian young adults. In Chapter 4, I explored how young adults' met and unmet expectations for parental monitoring predicted well-being using polynomial regressions and response surface analyses.

Chapter 2: How and Why Chinese Canadian Parents Monitor Young Adult Children

Abstract

In light of recent socioeconomic changes in Western society, the transition from adolescence into adulthood has prolonged. Little is known about whether, how, and why parents may prolong parenting of young adult children after adolescence. The current study represents a preliminary study to understand the scope of parental monitoring behaviours and parental motivations for monitoring in a sample of 67 Chinese Canadian young adults aged 18 to 30 years (M_{age} = 24.54, SD = 4.02). Participants freely listed all of their mothers' and fathers' behaviours aimed at finding out information about young adult children and perceived parental motivations for monitoring. Results revealed that parental solicitation and parent-child mutual communication were the most frequently reported and central aspects of the construct of parental monitoring in young adulthood for both mothers and fathers. Behaviours consistent with invasive, helicopter, and overparenting were also reported. The most frequently reported and central parental motivations for monitoring were parental love and care for children, concerns for children's safety, and desire to maintain close relationships with children. Implications for the study of parenting of young adults in Western and Chinese families are discussed.

Introduction

Parental monitoring refers to a set of behaviours that pertain to parental efforts to keep track of children's activities and whereabouts as well as child disclosure of such information (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Smetana, 2008; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Monitoring has been widely considered a positive parenting strategy of children and adolescents (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). In adolescence, parents engage in parental monitoring to ensure the safety of their children. However, parental monitoring of young adults may interfere with young adult achievement of autonomy and equality in the parent-young adult relationship. High levels of parental monitoring in young adulthood may result in young adults feeling overcontrolled, parent-child conflict, and lower parent-child relationship quality.

Parent-child disagreements and family conflicts are relevant and salient issues for Asian American young adults (Lee et al., 2005). Chinese American young adults often attribute psychological distress to relationships with parents and report higher levels of dissonance and conflict with parents compared to their White non-immigrant counterparts (Lee et al., 2000). Commonly reported family-related sources of stress that negatively affect the mental health of Asian American young adults (including Chinese Americans) include pressure of meeting parental expectations for high academic achievement, difficulty balancing heritage and host cultures at home, difficulty communicating with parents due to differences in cultural values, and family obligations (Lee et al., 2009). In a qualitative study, Chinese and Taiwanese Americans aged 25 to 35 years reported a high prevalence of past and present parent-child conflict regarding children's romantic choices, lifestyle choices, and family obligations (Liu et al., 2019). Parenting practices such as parental monitoring and control may contribute to such conflict and to young adult maladjustment. Parent-child conflict around culturally-relevant domains are likely

characterized to some degree by parental efforts to control and guide their children toward parent-approved choices, which require parental monitoring and knowledge of children's behaviours and preferences. For example, parents may engage in high levels of monitoring and subsequent control of their young adults' day-to-day activities with the goal of helping them to focus on and excel in their post-secondary studies. Additionally, young adults may have difficulty letting parents know if they feel their parents are monitoring too much.

Both developmental and cultural factors may be at work within Chinese Canadian families with respect to parent-young adult interactions and conflict. Young adulthood was not recognized as a life stage until relatively recent socioeconomic changes (Gitelson & McDermott, 2006). In the past, finishing high school, leaving home, finding a job, getting married, and having children were considered milestones for reaching adulthood (Arnett, 2003). With increasing costs of living and labour markets requiring higher levels of education for employment, leaving home has become more difficult, thus complicating and delaying late adolescents' entrance into adulthood (Gitelson & McDermott, 2006). In contemporary Western society, the developmental tasks of young adulthood are achievement of autonomy, financial independence, equality in parent-child relationships, and taking responsibility for one's own actions (Arnett, 2000; 2001). Most of these tasks pertain to the parent-child relationship, particularly to issues of parental control and monitoring.

Although the transition to adulthood has been prolonged, it is not clear whether and why parents do or should prolong their adolescent-appropriate parenting styles into young adulthood. Interestingly, most of the scant literature on the parenting of young adults has portrayed parental involvement in a negative light. Instead of parental *monitoring*, research has focused on invasive parenting (e.g., invasion of young adults' privacy; Ledbetter & Vik, 2012) and helicopter

parenting (e.g., parental over-involvement in young adults' decisions and day-to-day life; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012). Much of this literature is based on notions that monitoring should decrease dramatically in late adolescence and end in young adulthood and that the monitoring that does occur in young adulthood is excessive and inappropriate. These assumptions may not hold in a Chinese cultural context, as Chinese traditional family values emphasize tight-knit parent-child relationships, prolonged parental authority, and children's lifelong obedience and filial piety to parents (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lam, 1997; Fuligni & Pederson, 2002). Parenting behaviours that are considered excessive in Western cultures may be experienced as culturally appropriate in Chinese immigrant families.

Culturally, Chinese Canadian young adults live at the intersection between two distinct and sometimes opposing sets of family values and parenting norms. Parent-child differences in orientation to Chinese and Western cultures may manifest as differences in opinions about appropriate parental monitoring in young adulthood. Given the diversity of individual acculturation and parent-child acculturation gaps (Costigan & Dokis, 2006) and the fact that Chinese culture is becoming increasingly Westernized as a result of globalization (Chuang, 2009), large variability is expected in the views of contemporary Chinese Canadian parents and young adults regarding appropriate levels of parental monitoring. Furthermore, evidence suggests that children's perceptions and interpretations of their parents' motivations for engaging in certain parenting behaviours are important determinants of child mental health. Particularly, a study of Chinese American adolescents showed that benign interpretations of disapproved parental coercive behaviours buffer against negative effects of these parenting behaviours (Camras et al., 2012). Thus, while it is important to understand how Chinese Canadian parents

are monitoring their young adults, it is also crucial to understand the subjective experiences of the young adults who are on the receiving end of parental monitoring.

As a precursor to understanding how parenting practices may influence the well-being of Chinese Canadian young adults and their parental relationships, the present study sought to first elucidate the nature of parental monitoring among Chinese immigrant-origin young adults. We sought to understand: 1) the methods Chinese Canadian parents engage in to monitor their young adults, and 2) young adults' perceptions of parental motivations for monitoring. Given the overlap between adolescence and young adulthood, we expected participants to report a range of parental monitoring behaviours, some overlapping with parental monitoring behaviours observed in parents of adolescents, and others that are more applicable to young adulthood (e.g., older age, more diverse living situations). With respect to perceived parental motivations, we expected a mix of benign and intrusive motivations, some aligning with the positive motivations of monitoring in adolescence, some aligning with concepts such as helicopter parenting, and others aligning with Chinese cultural values.

Methods

Participants

Sixty-seven Chinese Canadian young adults completed the main survey questions, but demographic data was missing for 12 participants. Participants were on average 24.54 years old (*SD* = 4.02; range from 18 to 30 years). The majority of participants identified as female (76.4%). The sample consisted of 60.0% Canadian-born second-generation individuals and 40.0% first-generation individuals who were born outside of Canada. Of the first-generation individuals, 63.7% were born in China, 18.2% were born in Hong Kong, 1.0% were born in

Taiwan, and 2.0% were born in other countries (Japan, United States); their mean age of immigration to Canada was 7.91 years (*SD* = 3.97).

Just over half of participants were living in British Columbia (52.7%), 41.80% in Ontario, and the remainder (5.5%) in Alberta. Over half reported their marital status as single (58.2%), 21.80% were in a relationship, 14.5% were married, and 5.5% were living with their partner. The vast majority of participants were either employed full-time (43.6%) or were full-time students (41.8%). With respect to living situation, almost half of participants (49.1%) reported living with both parents, 25.5% reported living alone or with roommate(s), 20.0% reported living with their spouse/partner, and 5.5% reported living with their mother only.

Overall, young adults reported frequent contact with both mothers and fathers. Half (49.1%) reported seeing their mother face-to-face every day, 14.5% reported contact up to six times a week, 18.2% reported contact one to two times a month, and 18.2% reported contact less than once a month. For face-to-face contact with fathers, 38.2% of participants reported seeing their father every day, 14.5% reported contact up to six times a week, 18.2% reported doing so one to two times a month, and 29.1% reported contact less than once a month.

With respect to non-face-to-face contact (e.g., by text, phone, and video call) with mothers, the majority reported contact at least weekly (20.0% reported daily contact, 50.9% reported contact one to six times a week. Similarly, for fathers, the majority reported at least weekly contact (9.1% reported daily contact, 45.4% reported contact one to six times a week).

Procedure

Participants were recruited through online advertisements posted on social media pages, recruitment e-mails sent to university student clubs and community organizations across Canada, flyers posted in public spaces, and word of mouth. The total number of individuals who heard

about the study is unknown. The vast majority of participants reported hearing about the study either via word of mouth (57.4%) or social media advertisements (29.6%).

Participants accessed the study online. Inclusion criteria limited participation to individuals between the ages of 18 and 30 years who identified as ethnically Chinese, were currently living in Canada, were either born in Canada or immigrated to Canada before age 15 years, were raised by at least one ethnically Chinese parent who immigrated to Canada as an adult, and had current contact with at least one parent. Participants were free to complete the study on their choice of electronic device (e.g., computer, cell phone) at any time and location. Upon completion, participants were invited to share the study with others who may qualify and be interested in the study. Participants were invited to enter a prize draw for a small cash honorarium delivered electronically.

Measures

Participants first provided demographic information (age, gender, country of birth, marital status, length of residence in Canada, socioeconomic status, educational attainment, occupational status, and current living situation). Additionally, participants provided information about their parents' ethnicities, country of birth, age at immigration, and marital status. See Appendix A for all demographic questions.

To assess parental monitoring behaviours, participants were given the open-ended prompt "Please list all of the ways in which your parent finds out information about you. Please describe each way and give examples as necessary so that we can fully understand the nature of your parent's ways of keeping track of you." This prompt was separately given for mothers and fathers. After listing each parent's monitoring behaviours, participants were given the open-ended prompt "For all of the ways in which your parent finds out information about you, what do

you think are their motivations and reasons for wanting to know things about you and your life?" This prompt was given separately for mothers and fathers. Thus, each participant provided four free lists in total. See Appendix B for all questions.

Analytical Process

We followed Borgatti's (1998) recommendations for cultural domain analysis and freelisting methodology. The analytical process consisted of the following steps: 1) data cleaning, 2) coding, and 3) quantitative analysis. Data cleaning and coding were conducted by the first author and two trained undergraduate research assistants, in consultation with the second author.

Data Cleaning

First, the first author cleaned participants' free lists of perceived parental monitoring behaviours and motivations for monitoring for spelling errors, followed by separating individual responses that contained multiple behaviours. After each coder individually read all lists, the coding team discussed and agreed on standardized labels for responses that described the same behaviour in different words (e.g., "she asks me directly" and "asks me" were given one label of "she asks me"). This was done as an initial step to reduce the number of items for further analysis (Borgatti, 1998).

Coding

The coding process was conducted to further reduce the number of items for quantitative analysis. Distinctly worded responses that captured similar behaviours and motivations (e.g., synonyms and synonymous phrases) were coded together to reduce redundancy as recommended by Borgatti (1998). Responses that fell within one subcategory of a monitoring behaviour were combined as distinct response (Borgatti, 1998) because of the research objective of identifying

broad categories of behaviours rather than specific methods of monitoring. The coding group discussed and agreed on the behaviours and motivations that were considered similar and a code book with the coding rules was created.

Parental Monitoring Behaviours

Participants listed a total of 222 and 163 responses for mothers' and fathers' monitoring behaviours. A large number of responses described parent-child communication behaviours that differed based on the medium of contact (e.g., via text message, phone call, video-call), content domain of parental solicitation (e.g., asking about my friends, my plans), and frequency and time of parent-child contact (e.g., weekly family dinner). Some responses specified who initiated contact (e.g., "[parent] asks me," "I tell [parent]") whereas others were vague (e.g., "we talk").

Given the great variability in the level of detail in responses, it was necessary to reduce the number of codes for quantitative analysis. Since the goal of the study was to capture broad parental monitoring behaviours rather than specific methods or domains of monitoring, the coding group agreed to collapse all mediums of contact into one code (i.e., "s/he asks me," "s/he talks to me"). Domains of parental solicitation were less frequently reported and were also collapsed into the code "s/he asks me." Similarly, the response "we talk" and its variations based on medium of contact were collapsed into one code. Responses in which the initiator of contact was not specified were categorized under "we talk." This code was kept as a separate code to distinguish mutual communication from parent- and child-initiated communication.

Different content areas of parental control (e.g., does not let me lock the door, shuts off the internet) and expectations for child disclosure (e.g., the respondent provides information about who they are with when away from home, friends' contact information) were coded together, respectively. Finally, a number of responses pertained to parents talking, asking, or

finding out information through other people outside of the immediate family, which were categorized under “s/he asks my extended family” which included aunts, uncles, and cousins; and “s/he asks people who know me” which included children’s friends and family friends.

After group discussions to resolve questions and disagreements, each coder independently re-coded lists of parental monitoring behaviours. At this final stage of coding, all coders coded 98% of mothers’ monitoring behaviours, and 99% of fathers’ monitoring behaviours the same way. Inter-rater reliability was computed by dividing the number of codes that all members of the coding team coded the same way by the total number of codes in the data. This resulted in a final list of 46 and 35 behaviours/codes for mothers’ and fathers’ parental monitoring behaviours, respectively (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 2.1. Frequency and salience of mother’s monitoring behaviours.

Mothers’ Monitoring Behaviours	Number of Occurrences	Frequency of Occurrence	Smith Index of Salience
She asks me	38	57.58%	0.497
We talk	34	51.52%	0.447
She asks my sibling(s)	16	24.24%	0.151
She initiates contact	13	19.70%	0.135
She follows/looks at my social media pages	13	19.70%	0.095
I tell her	10	15.15%	0.099
She talks to my sibling(s)	10	15.15%	0.078
She talks to my extended family	6	9.09%	0.049
She talks to people who know me	5	7.58%	0.043
She talks to my friends	5	7.58%	0.021
She talks to my father	5	7.58%	0.043
She asks my cousins	4	6.06%	0.033
We use a family group chat	4	6.06%	0.045
She snoops/looks through my things without my permission	3	4.55%	0.025
She asks my father	3	4.55%	0.030
She sets expectations that I tell her about my plans	3	4.55%	0.027
She visits my home	3	4.55%	0.020
She observes me	3	4.55%	0.030
She asks my friends	3	4.55%	0.027
She creates opportunities to talk to me	2	3.03%	0.016
She uses a location tracking app	2	3.03%	0.015
She sets expectations that I do not lock my door	2	3.03%	0.015

She enters my room without my permission	2	3.03%	0.023
She asks my extended family	2	3.03%	0.023
She talks to my spouse/partner	2	3.03%	0.006
We use a shared calendar	2	3.03%	0.008
She follows me	1	1.52%	0.004
She looks at my grades	1	1.52%	0.003
She asks my doctor/counsellor	1	1.52%	0.002
She tells me to visit her	1	1.52%	0.009
She sets limits on what I cannot do/access	1	1.52%	0.004
She asks my spouse/partner	1	1.52%	0.008
She tries to catch me lying	1	1.52%	0.013
She complains/guilt-trips me when I do not call her	1	1.52%	0.007
She sets expectations that I call her regularly	1	1.52%	0.005
She covertly asks me (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else)	1	1.52%	0.002
She talks to my child(ren)	1	1.52%	0.004
She sets a curfew	1	1.52%	0.009
She decides on my schedule/activities	1	1.52%	0.008
She checks my internet usage	1	1.52%	0.006
She forbids sleepovers	1	1.52%	0.002
She looks around my home	1	1.52%	0.006
She sets expectations that I tell her about my travel plans abroad	1	1.52%	0.004
She asks people who know me	1	1.52%	0.015
She checks my financial accounts	1	1.52%	0.004
People who know me tell her	1	1.52%	0.015
She opens my mail	1	1.52%	0.008
She eavesdrops	1	1.52%	0.012
She drops me off and picks me up from all activities	1	1.52%	0.008
She asks me to call her	1	1.52%	0.006
She requires that I provide contact information for my friends and their parents	1	1.52%	0.002

Table 2.2. Frequency and salience of fathers' monitoring behaviours

Father's Monitoring Behaviour	Number of Occurrences	Frequency of Occurrence	Smith Index of Salience
He asks me	24	44.44%	0.336
We talk	22	40.74%	0.329
He initiates contact	15	27.78%	0.225
He asks/talks to my sibling(s)	13	24.07%	0.141
He asks my mother	12	22.22%	0.165
My mother tells him	9	16.67%	0.134
He follows/looks at my social media pages	9	16.67%	0.127

He asks/talks to my extended family	8	14.81%	0.067
I tell him	5	9.26%	0.036
He asks/talks to my friends	5	9.26%	0.032
We use a family group chat	4	7.41%	0.056
He checks my financial accounts	3	5.56%	0.042
He observes me	3	5.56%	0.019
He asks for my opinions	2	3.70%	0.015
He visits me	2	3.70%	0.015
He talks to people who know me	2	3.70%	0.012
He covertly asks me (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else)	2	3.70%	0.019
He uses a location tracking app	2	3.70%	0.019
He does not monitor/try to find out information about me	1	1.85%	0.019
He looks at my grades	1	1.85%	0.011
He asks my doctor	1	1.85%	0.008
He set limits on my internet usage	1	1.85%	0.019
He tries to catch me lying	1	1.85%	0.016
He asks other people to ask me	1	1.85%	0.013
He sets expectations that I call home	1	1.85%	0.011
He complains/guilt-trips me when I do not call him	1	1.85%	0.008
He works with my mother to get information out of me	1	1.85%	0.003
He asks me to call him	1	1.85%	0.009
He talks to my spouse/partner	1	1.85%	0.015
He tracks my internet usage	1	1.85%	0.006
He asks my cousins	1	1.85%	0.011
He sets expectations that I tell him about my plans if they affect family schedules	1	1.85%	0.007
He sets expectations that I tell him about my travel plans abroad	1	1.85%	0.004
People who know me tell him	1	1.85%	0.009
He opens my mail	1	1.85%	0.019

Parental Motivations for Monitoring

Participants listed 209 and 158 motivations for mothers and fathers, respectively. During the first pass of coding, the group discussed the appropriate level of distinction between conceptually similar motivations. For example, some individual participants included separate responses of parents “loving” and “caring” about them (i.e., differentiation between these responses) while others included these two in one response. In this example, responses of parents

"loving" and "caring" about young adults were combined into one code. Responses describing parents wishing to get to know children better, to be involved in children's lives, to connect with their children, and wanting to be friends with their children were all combined into one code. Finally, responses pertaining to parental wishes for the best for their children in various aspects of life (e.g., ensure children are hanging out with good people, want children to become the best person they can, ensure children are being responsible and spending money wisely) were all grouped into the code "to ensure young adult is making the right life decisions/living the right way."

Codes that were vague and difficult to interpret and categorize were either excluded from analyses (e.g., "openness," and "peace of mind") or combined with other similar responses (e.g., "pride" was grouped with "bragging rights"). All of these codes were reported by only one to two participants across the sample.

After the coding group resolved questions and disagreements, each coder independently re-coded the lists of parental motivations. All coders coded 96% of mothers' motivations, and 95% of fathers' motivations the same way. This resulted in a final list of 46 and 39 motivations/codes for mothers and fathers, respectively (see Tables 2.3 and 2.4).

Table 2.3. Frequency and salience of perceived mothers' motivations for monitoring.

Perceived Mothers' Motivation for Monitoring	Number of Occurrences	Frequency of Occurrence	Smith Index of Salience
She is concerned/worried about my safety	23	39.66%	0.357
She loves and cares about me	20	34.48%	0.300
She wants to keep up to date with my life	16	27.59%	0.184
She wants to connect, get to know me better, and be involved in my life	15	25.86%	0.124
She is curious	12	20.69%	0.147
She wants to know that I am doing well	12	20.69%	0.125
Duty as a parent/Familial obligation	10	17.24%	0.081
She wants to know if she can help me in any way	9	15.52%	0.070
To ensure I am avoiding bad influences (e.g., friends, activities, decisions)	9	15.52%	0.083

She is concerned/worried about my well-being/happiness	9	15.52%	0.133
To ensure I am making the right life decisions/living the right way	7	12.07%	0.070
She is concerned/worried about my success	6	10.34%	0.079
She wants to show that she cares about me	4	6.90%	0.013
To coordinate day-to-day family plans	3	5.17%	0.035
She is concerned/worried about my health	3	5.17%	0.036
She is bored	3	5.17%	0.026
She has no strong motivation to find out information about me	3	5.17%	0.052
She is worried about me	3	5.17%	0.036
She is anxious	2	3.45%	0.022
She wants to have a sense of parental control	2	3.45%	0.013
She wants to provide emotional support	2	3.45%	0.008
She wants to protect me	2	3.45%	0.013
She is lonely	2	3.45%	0.017
She wants to keep up to date with my child(ren)'s life	2	3.45%	0.022
She wants to tell other people about me (e.g., parents' friends, other family)	2	3.45%	0.014
She wants to give me as many learning opportunities as possible	2	3.45%	0.006
She wants to give input into my life circumstances and decisions	2	3.45%	0.011
She wants to know about my problems/stresses	2	3.45%	0.030
She is nosy	2	3.45%	0.006
She does not trust me	1	1.72%	0.011
To complain about my life decisions	1	1.72%	0.010
She wants to get a different perspective on something	1	1.72%	0.003
To make conversation	1	1.72%	0.006
She wants to check if I am hiding something or lying	1	1.72%	0.009
To coordinate meeting in person	1	1.72%	0.017
She wants to control/steer my life in the direction she thinks is best for me, even if it is not what I want	1	1.72%	0.017
She is manipulative	1	1.72%	0.006
She wants to see her grandchildren	1	1.72%	0.006
She misses me	1	1.72%	0.015
She wants to provide physical/financial support	1	1.72%	0.009
To anticipate my problems and to provide solutions	1	1.72%	0.009
She wants to talk to my friends	1	1.72%	0.004
Bragging rights	1	1.72%	0.007
She wants to make sure I am not wasting her resources (e.g., money)	1	1.72%	0.014
She thinks I won't tell her anything directly	1	1.72%	0.013
She wants to know what others think of me and my family	1	1.72%	0.009

Table 2.4. Frequency and salience of perceived fathers' motivations for monitoring

Perceived Fathers' Motivation for Monitoring	Number of Occurrences	Frequency of Occurrence	Smith Index of Salience
He loves and cares about me	19	34.55%	0.316
He is concerned/worried about my safety	14	25.45%	0.207
He wants to know that I am doing well	13	23.64%	0.185
He wants to keep up to date with my life	12	21.82%	0.159
He is curious	10	18.18%	0.141
He wants to connect, get to know me better, and be involved in my life	9	16.36%	0.101
He is concerned/worried about my well-being/happiness	7	12.73%	0.098
He is concerned/worried about my success	6	10.91%	0.082
To ensure I am making the right life decisions/living the right way	8	14.55%	0.080
He wants to know if he can help in any way	9	16.36%	0.076
He has no strong motivation to find out information about me	4	7.27%	0.052
He is worried about me	3	5.45%	0.045
Duty as a parent/Familial obligation	5	9.09%	0.042
He is concerned/worried about my health	4	7.27%	0.036
To ensure I am avoiding bad influences (e.g., friends, activities, decisions)	4	7.27%	0.035
He wants to know about my problems/stresses	2	3.64%	0.025
Bragging rights	2	3.64%	0.025
To coordinate meeting in person	2	3.64%	0.018
He does not monitor me so that he can give me some freedom	1	1.82%	0.018
He wants to control my life	1	1.82%	0.018
To ask me for help with something	1	1.82%	0.018
Knowing about his family's success motivates him to keep working hard	1	1.82%	0.014
He wants to correct me if I am wrong	1	1.82%	0.013
To coordinate day-to-day family plans	3	5.45%	0.013
He wants to help me become more mature	1	1.82%	0.012
He does not trust me	1	1.82%	0.012
He thinks he loves me	2	3.64%	0.012
To ensure I am making the family proud	2	3.64%	0.011
To use me as an emotional outlet	1	1.82%	0.010
He does not find out information about me because it is not his role to do so	1	1.82%	0.009
He wants to pass on his knowledge to me	1	1.82%	0.009
To make conversation	1	1.82%	0.009
He wants to provide advice	1	1.82%	0.006
He wants to maintain his authority as a parent	1	1.82%	0.006
To find out information that my mom wants to know	1	1.82%	0.005
He wants to protect me	1	1.82%	0.005

He is bored	1	1.82%	0.005
He wants to show that he cares about me	1	1.82%	0.004
He is nosy	1	1.82%	0.004

Quantitative Analyses

The Anthropac program (Borgatti, 1992), designed to analyze freelist data in cultural domain analysis, was used to determine the most frequently listed parental monitoring behaviours and motivations and the most central items to each construct. For each distinct behaviour/motivation, Smith's index of salience was computed to identify the salience of each item (Smith & Borgatti, 1997). This was done to understand which behaviours/motivations may be more central to each construct. This index is computed using the number of items in each participant's list of behaviours/motivations, the rank of each item in its list (i.e., whether it was listed first, second, third, etc.), and the number of lists across the sample (Smith & Borgatti, 1997). Based on the theory the most central aspects of a construct are reported first (Borgatti, 1998), items listed near the beginning of respondents' lists are given more weight in the calculation of Smith's index. Thus, items that are reported by many participants and that are listed earlier are considered central to the construct of interest. Smith's index values closer to 1.0 indicate greater salience and centrality.

Results

Mothers' Monitoring Behaviours

On average, participants reported three distinct maternal monitoring behaviours (range from 1 to 10 behaviours). As seen in Table 2.1, over half of participants reported mother solicitation of information (e.g., she asks me; 57.6%) and parent-child mutual communication (e.g., we talk; 51.5%). Other frequent responses included mothers asking child's siblings (37.9%), looking at child's social media pages (19.7%), mother-initiated communication (e.g.,

she texts/calls/video calls me; 19.7%), and child-initiated disclosure (e.g., I tell her; 15.2%). Less frequent responses, with fewer than 15% of participants reporting each, included mothers communicating with individuals outside of the immediate family (extended family, child's friends), setting expectations for child disclosure, supervision of child's activities, and limiting child's behaviours. A small minority of participants reported more intrusive forms of information gathering such as snooping through child's personal items/spaces /mail without permission, checking child's financial accounts, using a location tracking application, and "guilt-tripping" child to initiate communication. Smith's indices of salience generally corresponded with the frequency of reports, with mother-initiated communication, parent-child mutual communication, and mother-sibling communication being the most salient methods.

Fathers' Monitoring Behaviours

On average, participants reported three distinct behaviours (range from 1 to 7 behaviours). A paired-samples *t*-test showed that young adults reported significantly more monitoring behaviours for mothers ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 2.01$) than for fathers ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.41$), $t(52) = 2.31$, $p = .023$. As seen in Table 2.2, the most frequently reported behaviours were father solicitation (e.g., he asks me; 44.4%), father-child mutual communication (e.g., we talk; 40.74%), father-initiated communication (27.8%), father-mother communication (22.2% reported fathers asking mothers for information, and 16.7% reported mothers telling fathers information), and father-sibling communication (24.0%). Moderately frequent responses included looking at child's social media pages (16.7%). Less frequent responses, with fewer than 15% of participants reporting each, included child disclosure, setting expectations for child disclosure, communication with people outside of the immediate family, and more intrusive methods of finding out information such as checking child's internet usage, financial accounts,

and academic grades, using a location tracking application, and "guilt-tripping" child to initiate communication. Smith's indices of salience suggested that father-initiated and parent-child mutual communication were the most salient methods of obtaining information about their young adult children, followed by father-mother communication.

Perceived Mothers' Motivations for Monitoring

On average, participants reported four distinct motivations (range from 1 to 12 motivations). As seen in Table 2.3, the most frequently listed perceived motivations for monitoring were mothers' concerns for child's safety (39.7%), love and care for child (34.5%), wishes to keep up to date with child's life (27.6%), wishes to connect with child (25.9%), curiosity (20.7%), and wishes to know child is doing well (20.7%). Moderately reported responses included duty as a parent/familial obligation (17.2%), concerns about child's well-being and happiness (15.5%), ensure child is avoiding bad influences (15.5%), wanting to know if she can help in any way (15.5%), to ensure child is making the right decisions (12.0%), and concerns about child's success (10.3%). Less frequently listed motivations included parental personality, needs, and experiences (e.g., mother is anxious, bored; wants to get a different perspective on something via talking to child; needs to have a sense of parental authority). Culturally-relevant motivations were also (infrequently) listed, including mothers' wishes to know what others think of child and family and "bragging rights." Several responses pertained to more intrusive motivations that are conceptually similar to overparenting, such as mothers wishing to anticipate child's problems and to provide solutions, and wishing to steer child's life toward a direction that goes against child's wishes but is what mother wants. Several (infrequent) responses suggested the presence of maladaptive family dynamics such as "she does not trust me," "she thinks I won't tell her anything directly," and "to complain about my life decisions."

Smith indices of salience suggested that the most salient perceived mothers' motivations for monitoring are concerns for children's safety, and love and care.

Perceived Fathers' Motivations for Monitoring

On average, participants reported three distinct motivations (range from 1 to 7 motivations). A paired-samples *t*-test showed that young adults reported significantly more motivations for mothers ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 2.04$) than for fathers ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.49$), $t(53) = 2.86$, $p = .006$. As seen in Table 2.4, the most frequently listed perceived motivations for monitoring included fathers' love and care for child (34.6%), concerns about child's safety (25.5%), wishes to know child is doing well (23.6%), and wishes to keep up to date with child's life (21.8%). Moderately reported responses included curiosity (18.2%), wishes to know if he can help in any way (16.4%), wishes to connect with child (16.36%), to ensure child is making the right decisions (14.6%), and concerns for child's well-being and happiness (12.7%). Less frequent responses included wishes to develop child's maturity such as by giving advice and correcting wrong behaviours, concerns for child's health, and to ensure child is avoiding bad influences. A number of participants indicated beliefs that their fathers had no strong motivation to find out information about their children and that fathers did not monitor children because they wished to give more freedom to their children, or that it was not his role to do so. Culturally relevant motivations were also (infrequently) listed including parental duty/familial obligation, to ensure child was making the family proud, and to have "bragging rights." Several responses pertained to motivations conceptually similar to overparenting such as wishes to control the child and maintain parental authority. The responses of "to use me as an emotional outlet" and "he does not trust me" suggested the presence of maladaptive family dynamics. Smith indices of

salience suggested that the most salient motivations for fathers' love and care for child and concerns for child's safety.

Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to elucidate the range of parental monitoring behaviours and parental motivations for monitoring of young adult children (aged 18 to 30 years) in Chinese Canadian families, as a step toward understanding the full scope of the constructs so that they can be adequately measured and studied. Findings revealed a number of observations pertinent to our understanding of parental monitoring in young adulthood and differences in mothering and fathering within Chinese families living in Western cultural societies.

Parental Monitoring Behaviours

Overall, findings are consistent with the conceptualization of parental monitoring as a multidimensional construct that encompasses both parental behaviours to obtain information about children as well as child disclosure (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Smetana, 2008; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). The most commonly reported monitoring behaviours for both mothers and fathers involved direct parent-child communication, with the two most salient and most frequently reported behaviours being parental solicitation and parent-child mutual communication. Parental initiation of contact and conversation with young adults via various methods (e.g., text/instant message, phone, video-call, e-mail) was also commonly reported. Young adult disclosure was commonly reported but less frequently than parent-initiated contact.

In addition to direct monitoring behaviours, participants reported a number of indirect parental monitoring behaviours, with the most commonly reported ones involving parents obtaining information from people around the child (siblings, extended family, children's friends, family friends, the other parent). To our knowledge, indirect monitoring behaviours have

not been a primary focus of discussions about monitoring. Our results raise questions about links between direct and indirect monitoring and parent-child and family dynamics and well-being and how links may differ depending on contextual and individual factors. For example, does the quality of family relationships and child well-being differ depending on whether parents obtain information primarily through direct communication with children versus indirectly through people who know their children? Does it depend on what other behaviours parents engage in; each child's cultural beliefs and opinions about what behaviours are appropriate and acceptable; and children's unique preferences and willingness to disclose?

Although much less frequently reported than direct and indirect communication, a number of participants reported control-oriented and surveilling behaviours. Control-oriented behaviours included mothers and fathers setting expectations that young adults disclose their plans and call home regularly; deciding on children's schedules and activities; and setting limits (e.g., on internet usage, enforcing a curfew). Surveilling behaviours included looking at children's social media pages (which was among the most commonly reported monitoring behaviours overall) as well as less frequently reported behaviours of checking young adults' financial accounts, grades, internet usage, and using a location tracking application. These surveilling behaviours are consistent with monitoring of adolescents (e.g., Lenhart et al., 2010). Their presence in a Chinese Canadian young adult sample suggests that some parents prolong the use of adolescent-appropriate parenting behaviours. However, it was not possible to discern whether this prolonging is due to Chinese cultural norms, changes in parenting norms due to the extension of the transition to adulthood in North American society, or a combination of both.

A small number of behaviours in line with constructs of invasive, helicopter, and overparenting were reported, raising implications for what is considered appropriate and

inappropriate parenting practices in young adulthood. These behaviours included snooping through young adults' personal belongings and spaces, eavesdropping, deciding on young adults' schedules and activities, anticipating young adults' problems and providing solutions, talking to young adults' healthcare providers (doctors, counsellors), and opening their young adults' mail. Some of these are developmentally appropriate in childhood and adolescence but may not be beneficial or legal in adulthood. These behaviours, although infrequently reported, are important to continue studying as their presence may reflect underlying maladaptive family dynamics and likely have significant effects on young adult well-being. Indeed, one participant included comments that parents' invasive monitoring behaviours were "unwanted," "overbearing," "unnecessary," and "detrimental."

Notwithstanding the importance of understanding invasive parenting practices, the literature on parenting of young adults has disproportionately focused on practices that have low base rates and does not adequately examine the other more benign and positive parenting practices in this developmental stage. Our findings clearly show that parents of young adults engage in many non-invasive and benign monitoring behaviours. We propose that the young adult parenting literature will benefit from expanding beyond a focus only on overcontrolling behaviours. Exploring the broader context of parenting will enable a more nuanced understanding of the effects of both common benign and uncommon invasive parenting practices. For example, how often are controlling and intrusive behaviours accompanied by behaviours that respect young adults' autonomy and independence? Do parents tend to engage in invasive practices with children with whom they have infrequent mutual communication? Answers to such questions will elucidate a more comprehensive understanding of parenting in this developmental stage.

Our findings raise questions about how families reconcile young adults' need for autonomy vis-à-vis parental wishes to monitor. Consistent with young adults' needs for autonomy, parents may rely more on parent-child communication than on control to obtain information. Although child disclosure was reported, parent-initiated and parent-child mutual communication were more salient and frequently reported. Due to the preliminary nature of this study, it is not clear whether fewer reports of child disclosure reflect young adults' intentions to maintain autonomy and independence from parents. Additionally, it was not possible to distinguish between spontaneous/voluntary disclosure and disclosure in response to parental solicitation, as many participants simply reported "talking" with parents. These distinctions should be attended to as they may reflect differences in parent-child relationship dynamics.

Finally, our findings raise the need for more nuanced measurement of parental monitoring. There is currently no measure of parental monitoring of emerging and young adults. Additionally, despite the diversity of monitoring behaviours of adolescents, they are primarily measured using tools that solely assess parental knowledge, which is simply the end result of monitoring behaviours (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). More nuanced measurement tools that reflect the multidimensional nature of monitoring is needed to adequately investigate the effects of distinct aspects of monitoring.

Chinese Canadian Mothers' versus Fathers' Monitoring

There were notable differences in young adults' reports of mothers' and fathers' monitoring. First, young adults reported a higher number of distinct monitoring behaviours for mothers than for fathers. This is in line with research on Chinese Canadian adolescents that has shown mothers' monitoring to be less internally consistent than fathers' monitoring, speaking to the greater diversity and fluidity of mothers' compared to fathers' behaviours. Second, while

mothers were reported to obtain information from a number of individuals who know their child (e.g., extended family, family friends), they were rarely reported to do so through the child's father. On the other hand, fathers were more frequently reported to obtain information from the child's mother, both via directly asking the mother and the mother voluntarily telling him. Together, this suggests that Chinese Canadian fathers remain involved in children's lives through indirect ways more so than mothers do. The reason for this may be related to cultural gender roles emphasizing mothers' responsibility for childrearing and fostering warm relationships with children and fathers' responsibility as breadwinner and disciplinarian who were not expected to develop emotionally close relationships with children (Chao & Tseng, 2002). These norms may not only manifest in childhood and adolescence but may also permeate into young adulthood, resulting in fathers staying up to date about their young adults' lives through proportionately more indirect methods than mothers.

Parental Motivations for Monitoring Young Adult Children

Young adults reported a range of their mothers' and fathers' motivations to keep track of their lives. Most of the reported motivations were positive and primarily pertained to parental concern for children's well-being and parental love. The top two commonly reported and most salient motivations for both mothers and fathers were parental concerns for child's safety and love/care for child. Other commonly reported motivations included parental wishes to keep up to date with children's lives, to know children are doing well, curiosity, concerns about children's well-being in multiple areas (e.g., happiness, success), wishes to connect/get to know children better/stay involved in children's lives, and wishes to help children in any way. Less commonly reported motivations pertained to parental wishes to ensure children are making the right life decisions and avoiding negative influences and logistics of making family plans.

A small number of participants reported parental motivations that were intrusive and suggestive of maladaptive family dynamics. These included parents' lack of trust for children to voluntarily disclose information, parental need for an emotional outlet, parental manipulativeness and nosiness, and parental wishes to complain about children's decisions. One motivation describing parental wishes to steer children toward a direction that parents approved of but was against the child's wishes was conceptually in line with overparenting (Leung & Shek, 2018). Together, these findings suggest that the majority of Chinese Canadian young adults see their parents as responsible and caring while a minority may struggle with relational difficulties.

Additionally, a small number of motivations reported were in line with Chinese traditional cultural values, parental responsibilities, and emphasis on achievement. These were parental duty/family obligation to monitor, wishes to brag to others about their children's achievements, and to ensure children are maintaining a good reputation for the family. However, it is unclear whether young adults perceived these motivations due to their own or their parents' cultural values. Further investigations are needed to understand why these cultural motivations were uncommonly reported, as it is possible that these motivations were simply not salient from children's perspectives (but may be strong motivations for parents).

Finally, a small number of young adults reported that their parents have little motivation to find out information about them. This was more commonly reported for fathers than mothers. Several participants further described that their fathers did not monitor them as it was not his role to do so, and to give children more freedom. These motivations may represent both cultural gender roles and parents allowing children to have increased autonomy and independence.

Limitations

The current findings were obtained from young adult self-report data only and thus represents only one perspective of parent-child relationships and interactions. Obtaining mothers' and fathers' perspectives may elucidate parental behaviours and motivations that young adults may be less aware of. A comparison between young adult and parent perspectives may uncover knowledge on how parental behaviours and motivations and child behaviours may be interpreted or misinterpreted. For example, young adults may be more inclined to interpret parental behaviours and motivations negatively while parents may be acting primarily based on cultural norms and values. Additionally, the current study was administered asynchronously online with no ability to clarify or probe for more information about terse and vague responses which led to the exclusion of some responses. Future studies conducted online may be improved by restricting the completion of the survey on a computer, as the difficulty of typing on a smart phone may lower motivation to give more detailed answers; and providing a guaranteed honorarium rather than entry into a prize draw. Follow-up, focus group, and interview research designs can also increase clarity in terms of future research. Finally, the current sample size precluded strong quantitative investigations of demographic differences in the types of parental behaviours and motivations, so this too can also enhance this area of research in the future.

Conclusion and Future Directions for Research

The current study represents the first known investigation of parental monitoring of young adults in Chinese Canadian families. Results revealed a wide range of mothers' and fathers' monitoring behaviours and motivations for monitoring and serve as a foundation for further research in this area. Important next steps in this line of study include investigation of the frequency of parental monitoring behaviours in larger samples and the development and validation of a comprehensive measure of parental monitoring in young adulthood. This will

enable more nuanced examinations of how parental monitoring links to young adult well-being and parent-child relationships and how different parental motivations for monitoring may affect these links. Investigations of these questions across different cultural groups will ultimately help to disentangle the effects of culture, developmental processes, and changing sociocultural and socioeconomic circumstances.

Chapter 3: A Three-Factor Model of Parental Monitoring of Chinese Canadian Young Adults: A Pilot Study

Abstract

Recent research that has focused on parenting late adolescents and young adults has mostly focused on parental monitoring and has disproportionately investigated aversive parental behaviours (e.g., invasive parenting, helicopter parenting, overparenting). In a sample of Chinese Canadian young adults aged 18 to 30 years, the present study sought to identify a multidimensional model of parental monitoring that adequately captures the different approaches to monitoring in young adulthood, and to develop a corresponding multidimensional scale to measure parental monitoring in this developmental stage. Participants rated the frequencies with which their mothers and fathers engaged in various monitoring behaviours. A dataset (N = 208) consisting of 50% randomly chosen ratings of mothers' monitoring and 50% randomly chosen ratings of fathers' monitoring was submitted to polychoric exploratory analysis. Results revealed a 3-factor model of monitoring consisting of (1) Parent-Child Mutual Communication, (2) Indirect Monitoring, and (3) Intrusive Monitoring. We present the 23-item Parental Monitoring of Young Adults Scale – Chinese Canadian (PMYAS-CC) along with results from concurrent validity analyses. Findings are discussed in the context of conceptualizations of parental monitoring in this developmental stage and Chinese traditional family values and gendered parenting norms. Directions for future research in the study of parenting and monitoring of young adults are presented.

Introduction

Much debate has occurred in the last several decades about the conceptualization and measurement of parental monitoring. Parental monitoring has been broadly defined as "a set of correlated parenting behaviours involving attention to and tracking of the child's whereabouts, activities, and adaptations" (Dishion & McMahon, 1998, p. 61). Despite the definition and general understanding of the term "parental monitoring" to be focused on parental *behaviours*, the most commonly used measures of monitoring solely assess parental *knowledge* (the outcome of monitoring behaviours; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Furthermore, parents gain knowledge about their children not only through their own actions but also through children's voluntary disclosure (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Current measures do not distinguish between different monitoring behaviours and sources of parental knowledge. The disconnect between the definition and operationalization of the construct has hindered the development of a clear nuanced theory of parental monitoring. Additionally, most work on parental monitoring has focused on adolescents. The transition from adolescence into adulthood has been prolonged due to socioeconomic changes (Arnett, 2000; 2001) and it is necessary to investigate whether and how parents may extend their monitoring efforts during this transition and what effects this may have. In a sample of Chinese Canadian young adults, this study aimed to: (1) examine how frequently parents use different methods of finding out information about young adults, (2) identify distinct dimensions of parental monitoring of young adults, and (3) develop a developmentally and culturally appropriate multidimensional measure of parental monitoring of young adults.

Conceptualization and Measurement of Parental Monitoring

Monitoring has long been considered an important aspect of parenting and is supported by a strong research base as a positive parenting practice that protects youth against risk and

deviance across cultures (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). Methods of obtaining information about children range from parental control (e.g., setting rules that limit children's activities and that require child disclosure), solicitation (asking children and people who know their children for information), surveillance (e.g., tracking children's location through cell phones), and child self-disclosure (Kerr et al., 2010; Lenhart et al., 2010; Smetana, 2008; Stattin & Kerr, 2000).

Despite the diversity of behaviours included in discussions of monitoring, the majority of studies on parental monitoring have used measures that solely assess parental knowledge (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). An example is the widely used set of items that Brown and colleagues (1993) compiled to measure adolescent-reported parental monitoring, consisting of five items that assess how much their parents *really* know about who their children's friends are, how they spend their money, where they go after school and at night, and their activities during their free time. Similarly, a 3-item measure of parental monitoring adapted from the Conger, Patterson, and Ge's (1995) Iowa Youth and Families Project assessing parental knowledge of adolescents' whereabouts, who they are with, and when they come home has been used in studies of Chinese adolescents in North America (e.g., Kim et al., 2013; So & Costigan, 2016).

Prominent researchers in this field have raised concerns about the reliability and validity of these scales. In Guilamo-Ramos, Jaccard, and Dittus' (2010) book *Parental Monitoring of Adolescents,* Dishion, Laird, and Stattin questioned the internal consistencies of scales that are comprised of only five to six items and the validity of the operationalization of parental monitoring using items that measure only monitoring knowledge. For example, a study purporting to elucidate links between parental *monitoring* and child outcomes may have only revealed links between parental *knowledge* and outcomes and may have not revealed anything about other aspects of monitoring such as parental solicitation or child disclosure (Anderson &

Branstetter, 2012). Additionally, Stattin and Kerr (2000) noted that parental knowledge is only the final product and does not take into consideration how and from whom parents received this knowledge. Indeed, children are the primary source for parental monitoring knowledge (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Findings from studies of child disclosure suggest that the construct of parental monitoring needs to be expanded and viewed as a relational construct rather than a parenting construct (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). That is, parental monitoring is rooted in the parent-child relationship rather than solely in the behaviours of the parent. This may become truer in young adulthood when there is increased equality in the parent-child relationship compared to adolescence in Western families. Thus, a measure of parental monitoring should capture the relational aspect of the construct.

Some measures of parental monitoring are comprised of items that assess more than just parental monitoring knowledge. Lippold and colleagues (2014) wrote five items to assess parents' active monitoring efforts such as setting expectations for disclosure and solicitation for information from children. However, there are no known validation studies of this measure. Anderson and Branstetter (2012) reviewed that Small and Kerns' (1993) 8-item and Silverberg and Small's (1991) 11-item measures of monitoring tap into several aspects of parental monitoring: parental behaviours to attain knowledge, parental knowledge (the end product), and child disclosure (relational aspect of monitoring). Anderson and Branstetter (2012) critiqued that these scales have not necessarily been used in ways that match the research questions being asked. For example, a study using the full score from a multidimensional scale that captures both parental actions and the parent-child communication may have elucidated links between a broader parenting style and child outcomes, rather than between *monitoring behaviours* and child outcomes. Furthermore, parental monitoring behaviours and parental knowledge are not perfectly

correlated, as parents may not always attain accurate knowledge despite active efforts to do so (Lippold et al., 2014). A multidimensional scale will ultimately clarify and improve our understanding of the distinct aspects of the construct and how they are related to each other and to other parenting dimensions and to child, parent, and family functioning.

Monitoring of Young Adults in Western and Chinese Contexts

Little is known about how parents monitor their young adult children. Given recent socioeconomic and sociocultural changes (increased costs of living, higher levels of education required for employment), leaving home has become more difficult, thus complicating and prolonging late adolescents' entrance into adulthood (Gitelson & McDermott, 2006). As a result, it is possible that parents may accordingly prolong their desire and efforts to monitor. The existing research on the parenting of young adults raises more questions than provides answers about conceptualizations of parenting in this developmental period.

In a sample of White American young adults aged 18 to 30 years, Ledbetter and Vik (2012) developed two measures to assess parental invasive behaviours (e.g., checking young adults' phone and online communications, giving unwanted advice, going through young adults' belongings without permission) and young adult defensive behaviours against this invasion of privacy (secrecy, mediated defense, avoidance, direct defense, peer defense). Notably, the authors developed separate measures of parent and child behaviour, further supporting parental monitoring as a relational construct. Leung and Shek (2018) created and validated the Chinese Paternal/Maternal Overparenting Scale (CPOS/CMOS) for Chinese university students in Hong Kong. They identified eight dimensions of overparenting: Close Monitoring; Intrusion of Child's Life and Direction; Strong Emphasis on Child's Academic Performance; Frequent Comparisons of Child's Achievement with Peers; Anticipatory Problem-Solving; Overscheduling of Child's

Activities; Excessive Care; and Excessive Affective Involvement. Monitoring is just one of the eight dimensions and is measured by four items assessing parents' general close monitoring of children, child disclosure, parental expectations for child disclosure, and parental tracking of children. Of note, controlling behaviours are included in the definitions and measurement of both of invasive parenting (e.g., giving unwanted advice) and overparenting (e.g., expectations for disclosure), thus the role of parental *monitoring* in this age group remains unclear.

The overlap between parental control and monitoring warrants a discussion. Monitoring and control are understood as distinct constructs, with the former referring to parental behaviours to gain awareness and knowledge and the latter encompassing efforts to influence child behaviour (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2010). Yet, a subset of monitoring behaviours includes control behaviours. For example, another conceptualization of monitoring has defined monitoring as a three-step process that includes parental overt expectations for children, direct monitoring of children to ensure that expectations are met, and instituting consequences when expectations are not met or are violated (i.e., control; Anderson & Branstetter, 2012; Jaccard et al., 2005). Research on Chinese families in North America has focused more on controlling behaviours than on efforts to gather information from adolescents per se (Lim & Lim, 2003). In a sample of diverse Asian immigrant adolescents, Chao and Aque (2009) identified three aspects of parental control—strictness, providing structure, and psychological control. Parental provision of structure consisted of setting limits on (i.e., controlling) children's various activities, which is one method of monitoring included in conceptualizations of monitoring. The blurring of boundaries between monitoring and control highlights the lack of consensus in the definition, conceptualization, and measurement of parental monitoring and raises the need for conceptual clarity.

While the overlap between monitoring and control is developmentally appropriate in childhood and adolescence given parents' responsibility to guide children away from delinquent behaviours, parental control becomes less developmentally appropriate in young adulthood. The literature on parenting of young adults has employed much more negative language compared to discourse on parenting of children and adolescents. Instead of *monitoring* per se, research has focused on invasive parenting, helicopter parenting, and overparenting, all of which encompass aspects of monitoring. It appears that much of this work is based on notions that parenting should decrease dramatically in late adolescence, and the monitoring that occurs in young adulthood is excessive, inappropriate, and a means of control (e.g., Ledbetter & Vik, 2012; Leung & Shek, 2018). Indeed, research on changes in parent-child communication and identity development over time suggests that optimal youth development occurs when parents can let go of their caretaking role as children traverse adolescence (Koepke & Denissen, 2012). Yet, research on helicopter parenting, defined as parental behaviours of doing tasks for young adults that young adults should be able to handle on their own, suggests that such behaviours may not necessarily have negative effects, depending on whether it is accompanied with parental warmth or psychological control (Nelson et al., 2020; Padilla-Walker et al., 2019). Thus, the current focus of negative parenting practices in young adulthood may reflect a failure to recognize that parental monitoring in this developmental stage may not always indicate desires and actions to control and instead may represent a positive form of parental involvement.

Furthermore, the bulk of the measures and research reviewed thus far were developed in Western samples. However, parental monitoring practices are culturally constructed, and it is crucial to consider how different cultural values (e.g., collectivism, individualism) may translate to distinct sets of monitoring practices across cultures (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2010). This

concept is particularly relevant when considering parental monitoring of young adults, as this is possibly the developmental stage in which there is the most divergence between Chinese and Western cultural parenting norms and family values. Notably, some dimensions of overparenting (in the CPOS/CMOS; Leung & Shek, 2018) are rooted in Chinese cultural beliefs and norms that have positive connotations. For example, parents' focus on academic performance reflects the cultural emphasis on academic achievement. The subscales of "Intrusion into Child's Life and Direction" and "Overscheduling of Child's Activities" in the CPOS/CMOS reflect the lifelong hierarchical parent-child relationship and prolonged parental guidance. Indeed, in a Confucian cultural context, high levels of parental involvement and control may not have negative effects on child mental health when it is accompanied by high levels of parent-child affection, as Lee and Kang (2018) found in their study of helicopter parenting in Korean emerging adults. Thus, definitions and assumptions about parental monitoring that have been developed in Western samples may not characterize the full gamut, nuance, and meaning of parental monitoring behaviours in Chinese and Chinese immigrant families. It is reasonable to expect that parental monitoring in Chinese families involves higher degrees and longer duration of oversight in some aspects of children's lives (e.g., family obligations, academic achievement) than in Western families, and that these behaviours may not necessarily have negative connotations or effects.

Current Study

The current exploratory research addresses a gap in the literature by developing a multidimensional scale of parental monitoring that (1) captures the range of ways in which parents find out information about their young adults (including a wide range of parent-initiated behaviours as well as child-initiated behaviours), and (2) is developmentally and culturally appropriate for Chinese immigrant-origin young adults living in Western societies. An initial list

of 32 items was developed based on results from a qualitative study that asked a sample of Chinese Canadian young adults aged 18 to 30 years to list all of the ways in which their mothers and fathers find out information about them (Chapter 2, this dissertation). These items captured a range of parental information-gathering behaviours that distinguish between sources of knowledge, control-oriented behaviours, surveillant behaviours, and child-initiated behaviours. In the present study, exploratory factor analyses were conducted to attain a model of parental monitoring that applied to both mothers' and fathers' parenting to enable interparental comparisons.

To assess criterion validity, links between the attained factors of monitoring and measures of various parental and child behaviours were evaluated. We assessed a number of existing parenting measures that overlapped with our initial list of items: perceived parental solicitation, child self-disclosure, parental monitoring knowledge, parental control, overparenting, and invasive parenting. We predicted that our attained factors of monitoring would be correlated with their respective measures of monitoring in childhood and adolescence and not correlated with measures purported to measure unrelated aspects of parenting. For example, we expected that items of parental solicitation of young adults would be positively correlated with parental solicitation of adolescents and not with invasive parenting. We predicted that warmth would be positively related to benign (i.e., non-invasive, non-controlling) monitoring behaviours and negatively related to intrusive behaviours. We examined correlations between parent-child relationship quality and different factors of monitoring to investigate the possibility that some monitoring behaviours in young adulthood may have positive effects while others may have negative effects.

Method

Participants

Participation was limited to ethnically Chinese young adults between the ages of 18 and 30 years who were living in Canada, either born in Canada or immigrated to Canada before age 15 years, with at least one parent who immigrated to Canada after age 18 years, and with current contact with at least one parent. A total of 196 participants fully completed an online survey, and an additional 78 individuals partially completed the survey (total N = 274). Participants were on average 22.90 years old (*SD* = 3.62; range from 18 to 30 years). The majority were female (78.70%) and Canadian-born second-generation individuals (64.50%). Foreign-born participants immigrated to Canada at age 6.60 years (*SD* = 4.19) from China (61.40%), Hong Kong (14.30%), Taiwan (8.60%), other Asian countries (10.00%) and Western countries (4.29%). The majority of foreign-born participants immigrated with both parents (75.70%).

Participants lived across Canada (28.50% in British Columbia, 25.20% in Ontario, 11.70% in Alberta, and the remainder in other provinces). Most participants were full-time students (76.80%), of which the majority were pursuing a Bachelor's degree (70.60%). Just over half of participants reported being single (54.90%), while 29.70% were in a relationship, 14.90% were living with a partner or married, and 0.50% were divorced. Almost half of participants were living with both parents (48.70%), while the remainder lived with roommates (17.60%), a partner/spouse (16.00%), alone (13.40%), or a subset of immediate family members (e.g., mother only, father only; 4.30%). Of those who lived apart from parents, over half lived more than a 2-hour drive from their mothers (53.49%) and fathers (55.81%).

With respect to parental demographics, over 90% of parents were reported to be ethnically Chinese, with over 80% born in China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. The majority of

parents (87.80%) were married. The majority of young adults reported growing up in middle class families (36.70% lower middle class, 36.70% middle class, 19.90% upper middle class).

Procedure

Participants were recruited through online advertisements posted on social networking sites and groups, recruitment e-mails and Facebook messages to university student clubs and community organizations across Canada, flyers posted in public spaces, and word of mouth. The total number of individuals who heard about the study is unknown. The majority of participants heard about the study through a post on social media (67.00%) and word of mouth (20.70%).

Participants accessed the survey electronically via an online link and were free to complete the study at any time, location, and on an electronic device of their choice. Upon completion, participants were invited to enter a draw for a cash honorarium and to share the study with others in their social networks who may be eligible to participate.

Measures

Demographic Information

Participants reported their age, sex, immigration-related information (birth country, age at immigration, whom they immigrated with), educational and occupational information, socioeconomic status, and current living situation (see Appendix A). They also reported on their parents' ethnicities, birth country, age at immigration and marital status.

Perceived Parental Monitoring

Thirty-two items that assessed a range of behaviours including parental solicitation, parent-child mutual communication, child disclosure, parental control, and surveillance were administered (see Appendix C). These items were developed from an initial qualitative study (Chapter 2, this dissertation) assessing the range of ways in which parents find out information

about young adults (see Table 3.1 for all items). Participants reported on the frequency of behaviours on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Often*, 5 = *Very Often*). Mothers' and fathers' monitoring was assessed separately. There was a high level of missing data in two items ("my mother/father talks to/asks my siblings" and "my mother/father talks to/asks my spouse/partner") that did not apply to every participant (those who did not have siblings or spouses/partners). These items were omitted from further analyses. One additional item assessing parents checking children's internet usage was omitted due to its unclear meaning. This resulted in a total of 29 items. Internal consistency was .82 for mothers and .85 for fathers.

Table 3.1. Descriptive statistics of initial parental monitoring items (N = 274)

	Mothers			Fathers		
	M (SD)	Skew	Kurtosis	*M* (SD)	Skew	Kurtosis
1. Asks me about my life	3.68 (1.00)	-0.16	-1.05	2.60 (1.09)	0.26	-0.60
2. Initiates conversations and we talk via text/phone/e-mail/video-call/in person	3.62 (1.08)	-0.60	-0.23	2.52 (1.07)	0.25	-0.63
3. Asks for my opinions	3.12 (1.08)	-0.11	-0.85	2.52 (1.15)	0.27	-0.69
4. Creates opportunities to talk to me (e.g., initiating activities together)	2.85 (1.05)	0.00	-0.45	2.22 (1.04)	0.66	0.00
5. Voluntarily tell my mother/father about my life without them asking	3.25 (1.18)	-0.17	-0.71	2.70 (1.14)	0.25	-0.67
6. Initiate conversations with my mother/father and we talk	3.23 (1.06)	-0.20	-0.36	2.49 (1.00)	0.41	-0.06
7. Asks my father/mother for information about me	2.06 (1.04)	0.91	0.36	2.76 (1.22)	0.22	-0.83
8. Finds out information about me through my father/mother telling her/him (without her/him asking)	2.13 (1.02)	0.61	-0.42	3.18 (1.27)	-0.17	-0.98
9. Ask others to ask me about things s/he wants to know about	1.76 (1.07)	1.40	1.12	1.67 (1.04)	1.64	2.14
10. Finds out information about me via a family group chat	1.83 (1.25)	1.25	0.33	1.88 (1.19)	1.17	0.30
11. Asks/talks to my extended family about me	3.04 (1.19)	-0.10	-0.69	2.20 (1.05)	0.50	-0.33
12. Observes me (e.g., my behaviours, my home)	3.45 (1.12)	-0.30	-0.67	2.51 (1.20)	0.21	-1.03
13. Asks me covertly (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else)	2.55 (1.25)	0.38	-0.85	1.73 (1.06)	1.45	1.44
14. Sets limits on what I can and cannot do/access	2.49 (1.35)	0.53	-0.88	1.87 (1.15)	1.32	0.98
15. Asks me detailed questions to try to catch me lying in conversations	1.61 (0.97)	1.63	2.00	1.26 (0.70)	3.35	12.59
16. Opens my mail	1.81 (1.13)	1.34	0.91	1.29 (0.65)	2.20	3.98
17. Sets expectations that I communicate with her/him regularly (e.g., calling, visiting)	2.45 (1.25)	0.39	-0.96	1.83 (1.10)	1.38	1.23
18. Sets expectations that I tell her/him about my plans (e.g., day-to-day plans, travel plans)	2.81 (1.25)	0.18	-0.97	2.01 (1.20)	0.99	-0.03
19. Asks/talks to my health providers (e.g., doctor, counsellor)	1.85 (1.15)	1.12	0.10	1.24 (0.68)	3.09	9.49
20. Decides on my schedule/activities	1.61 (0.87)	1.30	0.96	1.28 (0.64)	2.41	5.37
21. Eavesdrops on my conversations	1.96 (1.10)	1.02	0.34	1.52 (0.91)	1.91	3.37
22. Snoops through my things without my permission	2.06 (1.17)	0.95	0.05	1.38 (0.77)	2.36	5.83
23. Enters my room without my permission	2.81 (1.40)	0.27	-1.14	1.81 (1.07)	1.19	0.63
Items omitted from exploratory factor analysis						
24. Asks/talks to my sibling(s) about me	3.24 (1.04)	-0.13	-0.40	2.52 (1.13)	0.29	-0.67
25. Asks/talks to my partner/spouse about me	2.07 (1.21)	0.90	-0.26	1.66 (0.96)	1.47	1.75
26. Checks my internet usage	1.18 (0.61)	4.07	18.24	1.26 (0.72)	3.10	9.81
Items omitted after exploratory factor analysis						
27. Follows/looks at my social media pages	1.91 (1.19)	1.07	0.03	1.53 (0.87)	1.65	2.19
28. Asks/talks to people who know me (who are outside my family)	2.11 (1.09)	0.83	-0.01	1.61 (0.90)	1.43	1.43
29. Checks my financial accounts	1.78 (1.12)	1.39	0.98	1.46 (0.91)	1.91	2.53
30. Uses a location tracking application to check where I am	1.25 (0.79)	3.48	12.01	1.15 (0.65)	4.52	20.26

31. Finds out information about me via a shared calendar	1.19 (0.64)	3.98	16.68	1.17 (0.59)	3.98	16.54
32. Drops me off/picks me up from activities	2.21 (1.20)	0.74	-0.42	2.36 (1.26)	0.61	-0.61

Note. Items are rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Often*, 5 = *Very Often*).

Adolescent Self-Disclosure

Smetana and colleagues' (2006) 3-item scale (see Appendix D) was used to measure adolescent disclosure of information to mothers and fathers (e.g., "I tell my mother/father what I am doing before s/he has to ask"). Young adults responded on a 4-point scale (1 = "Strongly disagree", 4 = "Strongly agree"). Cronbach's alpha was .88 for mothers and .92 for fathers.

Parental Solicitation

Young adults reported on the frequency of mothers' and fathers' solicitation of information from adolescents on six items adapted from Kerr and Stattin's (2000) study (Tilton-Weaver, 2015; Tilton-Weaver & Marshall, 2015; see Appendix D). An example item is "How often does your mother/father start conversations with you about your free time?" Responses were assessed on a 5-point scale (1 = "Never", 5 = "Very often"). Cronbach's alpha was .88 for mothers and .89 for fathers.

Parental Control

Stattin and Kerr's (2000) 3-item scale was used to measure parental controlling behaviours to gain monitoring knowledge of adolescents (see Appendix D). An example item is "How often does your mother/father require you to tell her/him where you are in the evenings, who are you with, and what you are doing?" Participants responded on a 5-point scale (1 = "Never", 5 = "Very often"). Cronbach's alpha was .97 for mothers and .96 for fathers.

Parental Monitoring Knowledge

Brown and colleagues' (1993) 5-item scale was used to measure mothers' and fathers' monitoring knowledge (see Appendix D). An example item is "How much does your mother/father *really* know about who your friends are?" Participants responded on a 3-point scale (1 = "Don't Know", 2 = "Know a little", 3 = "Know a lot"). Cronbach's alpha was .83 for mothers and .88 for fathers.

Overparenting

The Intrusion of Child's Life and Direction subscale of the Chinese Paternal/Maternal Overparenting Scale (CPOS/CMOS) was administered (Leung & Shek, 2018; see Appendix D). Seven items were assessed using a 4-point scale (1 = "Strongly disagree", 4 = "Strongly agree"). An example item is "My mother/father intrudes on my plan of future development." The CPOS/CMOS was originally developed and validated Chinese non-immigrant young adults in Hong Kong. Cronbach's alpha was .77 for mothers and .81 for fathers.

Invasive Parenting

Ledbetter and Vik's (2012) 11-item Parental Invasive Behavior Instrument was used to measure three dimensions of invasive parenting: mediated invasion (through phone and online mediums, measured using five items), verbal invasion (through unwanted questions and advice, measured using three items), and spatial invasion (through eavesdropping and going through young adults' things without permission, measured using three items; see Appendix D). An example item is "My mother/father asks personal questions that I don't want to answer." Participants responded on a 6-point scale (0 = "Never", 5 = "Very Often"). Cronbach's alpha was .72 and .76 for mothers' and fathers' mediated invasion, respectively; .83 and .81 for mothers' and fathers' verbal invasion, respectively; and .76 and .60 for mothers' and fathers' spatial invasion, respectively.

Parental Warmth

The short form (8-item) of the Parental Warmth subscale of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (Rohner, 2005) was administered (see Appendix D). An example item is "My mother/father is really interested in what I do." Participants responded on a 4-point scale (1 = "Almost never true", 2 = "Rarely true", 3 = "Sometimes true", 4 = "Almost always true"). Cronbach's alpha was .93 for both mothers and fathers.

Parent-Child Relationship Quality

The Social Support subscale of the Quality of Relationships Inventory (QRI; Pierce, 1994; see Appendix F) was administered to measure parent-child relationship quality. Participants responded on seven items on a 4-point scale (1 = "Not at all", 4 = "Very much"). An example item is "To what extent can you turn to your mother/father for advice about problems?" Cronbach's alpha was .88 for mothers and .91 for fathers.

Analytical Approach

To develop an instrument to adequately measure multiple dimensions of parental monitoring, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted using FACTOR.exe (Lorenzo-Seva & Ferrando, 2020). As the final goal of the research was to compare mothers' and fathers' parenting, EFA was conducted on a 29-item multiply imputed split half dataset, half of which was randomly chosen participants' ratings of mothers' monitoring and half was participants' ratings of fathers' monitoring (N = 208). Instead of Pearson correlation matrices, polychoric correlation matrices were used in EFA due to their robustness against extreme levels of skewness and kurtosis (skewness of 5, kurtosis of 50) and violation of the normality assumption (Flora & Curran, 2004; Flora et al., 2012). Robust unweighted least squares extraction followed by an oblique (robust promin) rotation were conducted (Lorenzo-Seva, 2013; Lorenzo-Seva &

Ferrando, 2019). Factors were allowed to correlate due to the study's exploratory nature. Parallel analysis with 500 bootstrap samples were used for factor extraction and retention decisions as they are superior to the Kaiser criterion and scree plots (Baglin, 2014; McNeish, 2017). Once a factor solution was attained, links between monitoring factors and other parenting and parent-child relationship constructs were conducted to explore concurrent and criterion validity. This was done for mothers and fathers separately, using the full dataset.

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

This dataset consisted of ratings from 208 participants. The majority of indices showed the adequacy of the polychoric correlation matrix. A three-factor solution was recommended (see Table 3.2). Six items did not load on any factor over .40. A total of 23 items loaded onto one of three factors. Table 3.3 presents the items of each factor.

Factor 1, named "Parent-Child Mutual Communication" consisted of 6 items pertaining to parental solicitation and young adult disclosure, and accounted for 27.20% of variance. These items assess parental solicitation and initiation of communication with young adults and young adult voluntary disclosure and initiation of communication with parents.

Factor 2, named "Indirect Monitoring" consisted of 4 items assessing parents sharing information about young adults from each other and passively through a family group chat, and accounted for 14.30% of variance. These items capture inter-parental communication and solicitation of information, parents asking other individuals to ask young adults for desired information, and attaining information in a family group chat.

Factor 3, named "Intrusive Monitoring" consisted of 13 items assessing parental active control and intrusive behaviours such as snooping, opening young adults' mail, talking to young

adults' health providers, and accounted for 7.90% of variance. These items capture indirect monitoring behaviours that were invasive both behaviourally (e.g., talking to young adult's health providers, snooping through young adult's belongings without permission), and psychologically (e.g., sets limits on young adult's activities, asks detailed questions to catch young adult lying).

Table 3.2 Rotated factor loading matrix of 29 parental monitoring behaviours based on split half dataset (N = 208)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. Asks me about my life	**0.65**	0.02	0.28
2. Initiates conversations and we talk via text/instant messaging, phone, e-mail, video call, and/or in person	**0.70**	-0.13	0.21
3. Asks me about my opinions	**0.79**	-0.01	-0.13
4. Creates opportunities to talk to me (e.g., initiating activities together)	**0.73**	0.02	0.05
5. I voluntarily tell my mother/father about my life without her/him asking	**0.87**	0.10	-0.16
6. I initiate conversations with my mother/father and we talk via text/instant messaging, phone, video call, e-mail, and/or in person	**0.81**	-0.02	-0.02
7. Asks other parent for information about me	-0.21	**0.70**	-0.09
8. Finds out information about me through my other parent telling them	-0.19	**0.65**	-0.11
9. Asks other people to ask me about things s/he wants to know about	-0.13	**0.48**	0.39
10. Finds out information about me via a family group chat	0.28	**0.55**	-0.13
11. Asks and/or talks to my extended family about me	0.27	-0.06	**0.49**
12. Observes me (e.g., my behaviours, how my home is)	0.16	-0.02	**0.56**
13. Asks me questions covertly (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else)	-0.04	0.27	**0.67**
14. Asks me detailed questions to try to catch me lying	-0.10	0.16	**0.76**
15. Sets limits on what I can and cannot do/access (e.g., curfew, cannot lock my room door, no sleepovers)	-0.20	-0.20	**0.75**
16. Sets expectations that I communicate with her/him regularly (e.g., calling, visiting)	0.29	-0.03	**0.45**
17. Sets expectations that I tell her/him about my plans (e.g., day-to-day, and travel plans)	0.22	-0.02	**0.64**
18. Opens my mail	-0.03	-0.03	**0.65**
19. Asks/talks to my health providers (e.g., doctor, counsellor)	0.01	-0.06	**0.61**
20. Decides on my schedule and activities	-0.07	-0.22	**0.73**
21. Eavesdrops on my conversations	-0.24	0.17	**0.71**
22. Snoops/looks through my things without my permission	-0.06	-0.01	**0.80**
23. Enters my room without my permission	-0.14	0.02	**0.69**
24. Follows/looks at my social media pages	0.15	0.38	0.11
25. Finds out information about me via a shared calendar	0.20	0.33	0.17
26. Asks and/or talks to people who know me who are outside of my family, such as my friends and family friends	0.24	0.05	0.37
27. Uses a location tracking application to check where I am	0.28	-0.09	0.15
28. Checks my financial accounts	0.22	0.04	0.37
29. Drops me off and picks me up from activities	0.003	-0.17	0.26

Note. Bartlett's statistic = 2250.8, $p < .001$; Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test = 0.86; RMSEA = 0.053 (95% confidence interval = [0.016, 0.063]); Factors 1 and 2 were correlated at -0.01; Factors 1 and 3 were correlated at 0.25; Factors 2 and 3 were correlated at 0.20.

Table 3.3. Parental Monitoring of Young Adults Scale – Chinese Canadian

Item
Parent-Child Mutual Communication (6 items)
Asks me about my life
Initiates conversations and we talk via text/instant messaging, phone, e-mail, video call, and/or in person
Asks me about my opinions
Creates opportunities to talk to me (e.g., initiating activities together)
I voluntarily tell my mother/father about my life without her/him asking
I initiate conversations with my mother/father and we talk via text/instant messaging, phone, video call, e-mail, and/or in person.
Indirect Monitoring (4 items)
Asks other parent for information about me
Finds out information about me through my other parent telling them
Asks other people to ask me about things s/he wants to know
Finds out information about me via a family group chat
Intrusive Monitoring (13 items)
Asks and/or talks to my extended family about me
Observes me (e.g., my behaviours, how my home is)
Asks me questions covertly (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else)
Asks me detailed questions to try to catch me lying
Sets limits on what I can and cannot do/access (e.g., curfew, cannot lock my room door, no sleepovers)
Sets expectations that I communicate with her/him regularly (e.g., calling, visiting)
Sets expectations that I tell her/him about my plans (e.g., day-to-day, and travel plans)
Opens my mail
Asks/talks to my health providers (e.g., doctor, counsellor)
Decides on my schedule and activities
Eavesdrops on my conversations
Snoops/looks through my things without my permission
Enters my room without my permission

Note. Items are rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Often*, 5 = *Very Often*).

Descriptive Analyses

Table 3.4 presents the descriptive statistics, reliabilities, and mean scores of each factor subscale using the full dataset. Parent-Child Mutual Communication and Intrusive Monitoring scales achieved adequate to good reliability for both mothers and fathers. Indirect Monitoring achieved lower reliability for both mothers and fathers (Cronbach's alpha of .63).

To better understand how mothers and fathers monitor young adults, analyses were conducted to investigate demographic differences in the three factors of monitoring, specifically examining whether mothers' and fathers' monitoring differed depending on parental and child

gender, young adult age, generational status, student status, marital status, and living arrangements. First, a repeated measures MANOVA were conducted to explore parental and child gender differences in monitoring. Parental gender was entered as the within-subject factor; young adult gender was entered as the between-subjects factor; and the three monitoring factors were entered as dependent variables. Results showed a significant multivariate effect, $F(3, 185) = 50.57$, $p < .001$. Mothers engaged in higher levels of Parent-Child Mutual Communication than fathers, $F(1, 187) = 77.27$, $p < .001$; fathers engaged in higher levels of Indirect Monitoring than mothers, $F(1, 188) = 18.97$, $p < .001$; and mothers engaged in higher levels of Intrusive Monitoring than fathers, $F(1, 187) = 72.90$, $p < .001$ (see Table 3.4 for means). In contrast, there was no significant multivariate effect for child gender, $F(3, 185) = 0.01$, $p = .68$; or for the interaction between parent and child gender, $F(3, 185) = 1.17$, $p = .32$. Parents engaged in similar levels of monitoring on all dimensions for sons and daughters (see Table 3.4 for means).

Correlational analyses showed that child age was largely not associated with parental monitoring factors with the exception of mothers' Intrusive Monitoring. Mothers were reported to engage in decreasing intrusive behaviours as young adult age increased ($r = -.20$, $p = .005$).

Table 3.4. Descriptive statistics of three factors of parental monitoring (*N* = 189)

	Overall Sample					Sons (N = 40)	Daughters (N = 149)
Factor	Mean (SD)	Skew	Kurtosis	Cronbach's alpha	Correlation with young adult age	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Parent-Child Mutual Communication							
Mothers	3.29 (0.74)	-0.07	-0.25	.78	.01	3.21 (0.68)	3.34 (0.77)
Fathers	2.51 (0.85)	0.29	-0.26	.88	-.08	2.61 (0.69)	2.52 (0.90)
Indirect Monitoring							
Mothers	1.95 (0.75)	0.85	0.43	.63	-.01	2.10 (0.76)	1.93 (0.75)
Fathers	2.37 (0.82)	0.47	-0.10	.63	.06	2.45 (0.73)	2.39 (0.85)
Intrusive Monitoring							
Mothers	2.35 (0.71)	0.82	0.24	.86	-.20**	2.28 (0.67)	2.35 (0.72)
Fathers	1.69 (0.56)	1.15	1.16	.84	-.09	1.80 (0.55)	1.67 (0.57)

Note. Items are rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Often*, 5 = *Very Often*); ** $p < .01$.

Young adults' generational status was unrelated to differences in parental monitoring with one exception. Father-Child Mutual Communication was significantly higher amongst second-generation Canadian-born young adults (M = 2.63, SD = 0.86) compared to first-generation foreign-born young adults (M = 2.36, SD = 0.84), $F(1, 187) = 4.18$, $p = .04$.

With respect to young adult living arrangements, ANOVAs showed that mothers' and fathers' monitoring largely did not differ based on whether young adults were living with or apart from parents, with several exceptions. Fathers engaged in marginally higher levels of Indirect Monitoring of young adults who lived apart from parents (M = 2.50, SD = 0.87) compared to those living with parents (M = 2.28, SD = 0.73), $F(1, 178) = 3.43$, $p = .066$. Mothers engaged in marginally higher levels of Intrusive Monitoring with young adults living with parents (M = 2.41, SD = 0.69) than those living apart from parents (M = 2.21, SD = 0.68), $F(1, 178) = 3.90$, $p = .05$. When controlling for young adult age, these differences became nonsignificant (Fs ranging from 1.68 to 2.53, ps > .05). Thus, age appeared to explain the differences in fathers' Indirect Monitoring and mothers' Intrusive Monitoring based on young adults' living status. For those living apart from parents, living distance away from parents was not correlated with levels of mothers' and fathers' monitoring on any dimension (rs ranging from -.01 to .15, ps > .05).

Young adults' student status was unrelated to differences in parental monitoring with one exception. Mothers engaged in significantly higher levels of Intrusive Monitoring of young adults who were students (M = 2.39, SD = 2.13) compared to those who were not students (M = 2.13, SD = 0.60), $F(1, 172) = 4.74$, $p = .03$. This effect became nonsignificant when age was entered as a covariate, $F(1, 171) = 0.55$, $p = .46$. Again, age appeared to explain the differences in mothers' Intrusive Monitoring of young adult students and non-students.

Young adult marital status was largely unrelated to parental monitoring with one exception. Mothers engaged in significantly higher levels of Intrusive Monitoring of young adults who were single (M = 2.43, SD = 0.69) compared to those who were partnered (M = 2.21, SD = 0.71), $F(1, 185) = 4.27$, $p = .04$. This effect became nonsignificant when age was entered as a covariate, $F(1, 184) = 2.39$, $p = .12$. Thus, age appeared to explain the difference in mothers' Intrusive Monitoring of single and partnered young adults.

Table 3.5 presents the correlations among the three factors of monitoring. For mothers, Parent-Child Mutual Communication was not correlated with Indirect Monitoring or Intrusive Monitoring, while Indirect Monitoring and Intrusive Monitoring were positively correlated. For fathers, all three factors of monitoring were positively correlated with each other.

Table 3.5. Bivariate correlations amongst dimensions of monitoring (N = 189)

Factor	Parent-Child Mutual Communication	Indirect Monitoring	Intrusive Monitoring
Parent-Child Mutual Communication	-	**.14***	**.22****
Indirect Monitoring	-.06	-	**.34*****
Intrusive Monitoring	-.02	.40***	-

Note. Correlations amongst mothers' monitoring are displayed below the diagonal; correlations amongst fathers' monitoring are displayed above the diagonal and bolded; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 3.6. Bivariate correlations amongst mothers' monitoring dimensions, parenting, and parent-child relationship quality (N = 189)

	Parent-Child Mutual Communication		Indirect Monitoring		Intrusive Monitoring	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Adolescent disclosure	.46***	.52***	-.17*	-.00	-.12	.15*
Parental solicitation	.35***	.45***	.11	.15*	.54**	.41***
Parental control	.06	.21**	.02	.05	.55***	.39***
Parental knowledge	.50***	.55***	-.09	.04	-.03	.08
Overparenting	-.07	.03	.12	.08	.48***	.42***
Invasion (mediated)	.00	.10	.34***	.16*	.39***	.36***
Invasion (verbal)	-.21**	-.08	.12	.18*	.59***	.60***
Invasion (spatial)	-.18*	-.05	.24**	.19**	.68***	.56***
Parental warmth	.63***	.69***	-.16*	.07	-.27***	-.11
Parent-child relationship quality	.60***	.63***	-.15*	.11	-.29***	-.11

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Convergent and Divergent Validity

Table 3.6 presents the correlation matrices between the three factors of parental monitoring and measures of mothers' and fathers' parenting and quality of mother- and father-child relationships. As expected, convergent validity analyses showed that Parent-Child Mutual Communication was significantly positively correlated with measures of adolescent disclosure, parental solicitation, parental knowledge, parental warmth, and parent-child relationship quality for mothers and fathers. For both parents, Parent-Child Mutual Communication was not related to overparenting (e.g., intrusion in children's life direction), suggesting that the communication measured by our measure is of a benign nature. A number of correlations suggested differences in function of mother-child versus father-child communication. Mother-Child Mutual Communication was not related to parental control, whereas higher levels of Father-Child Mutual Communication were linked to higher levels of paternal control. Additionally, whereas Mother-Child Mutual Communication was related to significantly lower levels of some forms of invasion (verbal and spatial), these correlations were not significant for fathers. Taken together, these findings suggest the criterion validity of Factor 1 and there are parental gender differences in the meanings and processes of monitoring.

With respect to Indirect Monitoring (Factor 2), we examined correlations with invasive parenting which assessed a number of indirect (mediated and spatial invasion) and direct (verbal invasion) behaviours, all of which were intrusive. The more mothers engaged in Indirect Monitoring, the more likely they engaged in invasion of privacy through phone and online mediums (mediated invasion) and physically (spatial invasion; e.g., snooping, eavesdropping); the less likely young adults were to disclose information; the less maternal warmth young adults perceived; and the lower the mother-child relationship quality. Mothers' Indirect Monitoring was

not correlated with verbal invasion (e.g., asking unwanted questions, giving unsolicited advice). On the other hand, the more fathers engaged in Indirect Monitoring, the more they engaged in all forms of invasion (mediated, spatial, verbal), while fathers' Indirect Monitoring was not related to paternal warmth, young adult disclosure, or father-child relationship quality. Similar to Factor 1, findings for Factor 2 suggest that our scale of Indirect Monitoring measures a distinct construct and there are substantive parental gender differences.

Intrusive Monitoring (Factor 3), as expected, was positively correlated with overparenting, all forms of invasion, parental solicitation, and parental control for both mothers and fathers, providing evidence for criterion validity. Additionally, as expected, the more mothers engaged in Intrusive Monitoring, the less likely they were to provide maternal warmth and the lower the mother-child relationship quality. The presence of parental gender differences was indicated by the lack of correlation between fathers' Intrusive Monitoring and paternal warmth and father-child relationship quality. Additionally, the more fathers engaged in Intrusive Monitoring, the more adolescents disclosed information to fathers, whereas this correlation was not significant for mothers.

Discussion

In a sample of Chinese Canadian young adults aged 18 to 30 years, we identified three dimensions of parental monitoring in young adulthood: Parent-Child Mutual Communication, Indirect Monitoring, and Intrusive Monitoring; and created a corresponding 23-item scale, the Parental Monitoring of Young Adults Scale – Chinese Canadian (PMYAS-CC). The dimension of Parent-Child Mutual Communication encompassed parental solicitation and creation of opportunities for information sharing and young adult disclosure. Indirect Monitoring included parents asking for and receiving information from each other, gaining information through

family group chats, and asking other people to ask young adults for desired information. Intrusive Monitoring consisted of a range of physically (e.g., snooping through belongings without permission, controlling young adults' activities) and psychologically (e.g., setting expectations for disclosure, setting limits on young adult activities) invasive and controlling behaviours. We first discuss overarching themes observed in the three factors of monitoring. This is followed by a discussion of differences between mothers' and fathers' monitoring.

Overall, our findings suggest that not all monitoring in young adulthood is negatively interpreted by children and not all parental involvement in young adults' lives is inappropriate. Indeed, traditional Chinese and Confucian family values obligate parents with the lifelong responsibility to ensure children's success and well-being (Chao & Tseng, 2002), which requires knowledge of the details of young adults' lives. Parents may not merely be motivated to ensure young adults' paths toward educational achievement, successful careers, and establishing their own families, but they may also be monitoring for signs that young adults are experiencing discrimination in an immigrant context as people of colour. Though much of the existing research of parenting of young adults has focused on negative behaviours such as overparenting, helicopter parenting, invasive parenting, and snooping, our findings serve as a good reminder that there are positive ways parents continue to be involved in young adults' lives, stemming from positive motivations. In Chinese Canadian families, positive parental involvement takes the form of maintaining mutual communication, as evidenced by its positive associations with parental warmth and parent-child relationship quality.

Parent-Child Mutual Communication

The finding that parental solicitation and child disclosure loaded onto one single factor has implications for the conceptualization of parental monitoring over the stages of child

development. In early to late childhood, parental monitoring is conceptualized as primarily parent-driven, consisting of supervision and information gathering intended to protect children from risks and dangers in various settings (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). In adolescence, it has been posited that the protective effect of parental monitoring on adolescent risky behaviours is attributable to adolescent disclosure (not just parental solicitation), and that accurate parental knowledge is increasingly dependent on child disclosure (Smetana, 2008).

Our findings suggest that in young adulthood, parent-initiated and child-initiated communication are both crucial and interrelated aspects of parental monitoring. This is consistent with our previous research that found mutual communication to be amongst the most salient and frequently reported ways in which Chinese Canadian parents obtain information about young adults (Chapter 2 of this dissertation). In the current study, of all three dimensions of parental monitoring, young adults reported both mothers and fathers to engage in the highest level of Parent-Child Mutual Communication. This finding also illustrates youths' developmental journey toward the milestone of achieving equality in parent-child relationships during the transition to adulthood, which has been endorsed by emerging adults in China and North America (Arnett, 2003; Badger et al., 2006). Thus, successful parental monitoring may rely equally on parental and young adult engagement.

Taken together, we posit that parental monitoring may be better conceptualized as a relational construct that requires equal input from both parents and children. With increasing child age, parental knowledge of young adults' lives is gained through a mutual maintenance of parent-child communication and relationships. This is supported by our finding that parent-child mutual communication was the only monitoring factor significantly positively correlated with parental knowledge, parental warmth, and parent-child relationship quality for both mothers and

fathers. Thus, in young adulthood, parents who do not engage in efforts to initiate conversations with their young adults and whose children do not do the same likely do not know as much about their young adults' lives and likely have poorer parent-child relationship quality.

Indirect Monitoring

To our knowledge, Indirect Monitoring in the forms of parents asking for and receiving information from each other, receiving information through a family group chat, and asking others to ask young adults for information have been rarely discussed in the literature. Interestingly, the four items of this factor demonstrated low internal consistency (.63 for both mothers and fathers), suggesting that although all behaviours fall under the umbrella of indirect ways of attaining information, parents' level of engagement in specific behaviours may differ and vary. For example, not all families may have a family group chat. For those who do participate in a group chat, parents' and siblings' messages to the family may inadvertently reveal novel information that young adults had previously shared with a subset of immediate family members.

Indirect Monitoring was positively correlated to the third factor of Intrusive Monitoring as well as measures of mediated and spatial invasion for both mothers and fathers. Thus, parents who engaged in more indirect monitoring were more likely to intrusively monitor young adults' telephone and online communications and physical belongings and spaces without permission. This pattern of findings suggests some overlap between indirect and intrusive behaviours such that intrusive behaviours are ways for parents to obtain information without directly asking young adults for it.

Intrusive Monitoring

The dimension of Intrusive Monitoring consisted of controlling behaviours (e.g., setting expectations for young adult disclosure, setting limits for young adult activities), invasive parenting (e.g., checking young adults' mail, snooping through young adult belongings without permission, eavesdropping), and active solicitation from informed others (e.g., young adults' health providers, extended family). Not surprisingly, intrusive monitoring was positively associated with overparenting (intrusion of children's life direction) and all forms of invasive parenting (mediated, verbal, spatial) for both mothers and fathers. Notably, most of these behaviours were also among the least frequently reported. Many, but not all, of these behaviours have negative connotations and have been shown to be negatively interpreted by children and indicative of problems in adolescent and family functioning (Hawk, 2017; Hawk et al., 2016).

The novel behaviours in our measure that have not emerged or been of explicit focus in the literature on parenting of Western young adults include parents setting expectations for young adult disclosure, asking covert questions to seek desired information and to catch young adults lying, deciding on young adults' schedules and activities, and observing young adults. Inspection of item-level means showed that mothers and fathers to engaged in higher mean levels of psychologically controlling and intrusive behaviours (e.g., setting expectations for disclosure, covert questioning) than behavioural and physical forms of control (e.g., deciding on schedules and activities, eavesdropping, snooping). This raises the question of whether psychologically intrusive monitoring behaviours are more prominent in Chinese immigrant families than in White non-immigrant families or if they are also prominent in latter but have been inadequately studied.

The monitoring behaviour of parents observing young adults (e.g., their behaviours, how their home is) is an interesting one theoretically and warrants further clarification. Participants in

our sample reported that mothers and fathers engaged in observation at relatively high levels, higher than all other behaviours that loaded on the dimension of Intrusive Monitoring. It may be a subtler form of parental supervision in young adulthood that encompasses passive observation of young adults' behaviours, speech, clothing, and personal property, which have also not been discussed or assessed in Western samples. These behaviours are consistent with parents' cultural responsibility to be involved and care for children throughout their lives (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Notably, active solicitation from extended family loaded on the dimension of Intrusive Monitoring rather than Indirect Monitoring, suggesting qualitative differences and meanings of parental solicitation depending on who is asked. This raises the possibility that even in the context of traditional Chinese culture in which extended families and communities may be closer knit than in Western contexts, asking others outside of the immediate family occurs less frequently and may be more non-normative than asking within the family. It is also possible that the families in our sample did not have well-informed close relatives to ask due to immigration. Further still, it is possible that families who emigrate from Chinese regions may be more highly educated and thus have more exposure and alignment with Western individualistic norms of the nuclear family over a collectivistic view of family as including relatives, and thus these families may have more distant ties with extended family.

Chinese Canadian Mothers' versus Fathers' Monitoring

Perceptions of mothers and fathers differed in numerous ways, underscoring the nuances and complexities in the functions and meanings of mothering versus fathering and different dimensions of monitoring in Chinese contexts. Our findings were consistent with Chinese family norms and gendered parenting roles in which mothers take a more active role in day-to-day parenting while fathers assume the role of disciplinarian when needed (Chao 1994; Chao &

Tseng, 2002; Chuang & Su, 2008); and provided evidence that these gender roles extend from childhood through to young adulthood. Specifically, we found that mothers engaged in significantly higher levels of Parent-Child Mutual Communication and Intrusive Monitoring than fathers, while fathers engaged in significantly higher levels of Indirect Monitoring than mothers. Given fathers' traditional roles as provider and disciplinarian, they may not be as motivated by goals of achieving closeness with children compared to fathers in Western culture (Newland et al., 2013), and thus they may stay abreast of young adults' lives primarily through indirect means and initiate communication less frequently than mothers. Furthermore, fathers may not perceive a need to communicate directly with young adults because they may be able to more expediently obtain information through mothers and passively though a family group chat. Thus, not only do fathers engage in more Indirect Monitoring than mothers, they may also use indirect monitoring methods differently such that fathers may be more passive recipients of information in a family group chat whereas mothers may solicit information in it more frequently. Notably, fathers were also found to employ significantly higher levels of Indirect Monitoring of first-generation young adults born outside of Canada compared to second-generation Canadian-born young adults. This suggests that first generation father-child dyads may be more oriented to traditional family values than the second-generation dyads, further indicating traditional gender roles at work.

Analogously, mothers who frequently gain knowledge about young adults directly may not or should not need to turn to indirect methods of information gathering. Indeed, we found that mothers' Indirect Monitoring was linked to lower levels of maternal warmth and more distant mother-child relationships whereas fathers' Indirect Monitoring was not related to warmth or father-child relationship quality. These findings suggest that mothers' Indirect Monitoring may be indicative of non-normative family dynamics. For example, when mothers

and young adults have distant relationships characterized by lack of trust and open communication, young adults may be less inclined to disclose information to mothers. Mothers who do not or cannot gain information directly may increasingly rely on indirect and intrusive monitoring methods. Indeed, we found that the more mothers engaged in Indirect Monitoring, the more they engaged in mediated invasion (checking young adults' phone and online communications) and spatial invasion (snooping, eavesdropping). Interestingly, mothers' indirect monitoring was not related to verbal invasion (asking unwanted questions, giving unsolicited advice), suggesting the possibility that when the mother-child relationship is distant, mothers may expect that verbally invasive methods of information gathering may be futile.

Mother-father differences in intercorrelations between the three factors of monitoring offer further insight into how parents employ a constellation of monitoring methods of young adults. For fathers, all dimensions of monitoring were positively correlated with each other, suggesting that when fathers are involved in parenting, they get involved in multiple ways. Indeed, concurrent validity analyses showed that Father-Child Mutual Communication was positively related to paternal control, and Indirect Monitoring was associated with higher levels of all forms of invasive parenting (mediated, spatial, verbal) and higher levels of parental solicitation. This pattern suggests that when fathers wish to gain information about young adults, they do so using both intrusive and non-intrusive means. On the other hand, Mother-Child Mutual Communication was not related to Indirect or Intrusive Monitoring or parental control, suggesting that some mothers who receive information directly from young adults may still engage in Indirect and Intrusive Monitoring, reflecting the norm for mothers to be generally more directly involved in children's daily lives compared to fathers (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

These correlational findings suggest possible differences in the kinds of information mothers and fathers gain through indirect means and how they respond. For example, it is possible that mothers who are directly informed about young adults may not perceive a need to share neutral and positive information about young adults to fathers. However, when negative information is obtained (e.g., risky behaviours, low academic performance), mothers may both increase Intrusive Monitoring as well as involve fathers to engage in disciplinary action. Fathers may subsequently respond with increased Parent-Child Mutual Communication (e.g., asking for and creating more opportunities to obtain information directly from young adults) and Intrusive Monitoring (e.g., setting limits on young adult activities) in an effort to discipline and correct child behaviours. Young adults may interpret fathers' Intrusive Monitoring as a normal part of their parental responsibility and, consistent with our correlational findings, it may not have consequences for how warm fathers are perceived to be and the quality of the father-child relationship. Furthermore, fathers' intrusive monitoring was related to increased young adult disclosure, suggesting the reverence for fathers' authority such that when fathers become involved, young adults comply. In contrast, mothers' Intrusive Monitoring may be negatively interpreted and responded to as it was linked to lower child disclosure, less maternal warmth and lower mother-child relationship quality.

Finally, with respect to how mothers and fathers monitor young adults of different ages and genders, mothers engaged in intrusive behaviours less often as children got older, suggesting that mothers become more relaxed in their information gathering as children mature. Fathers' monitoring on all dimensions were not related to young adult age, suggesting that Chinese Canadian fathers' monitoring remains relatively stable over children's transition to adulthood and may continue to rely on mothers' traditional role to parent and maintain relationships with

children rather than doing so themselves. There were no young adult sex differences found for reports of mothers' or fathers' monitoring, though this should be further investigated due to the underrepresentation of sons in the current sample.

Limitations

The present study has several limitations. First, daughters and second-generation Canadian-born young adults from families with highly educated parents and high socioeconomic status were overrepresented. Further exploration in samples of sons and first-generation foreign-born children is required to determine whether a three-factor structure of parental monitoring is generalizable, and whether mean levels of parental monitoring vary depending on child gender, immigration status, socioeconomic status, parental education and acculturation. Second, the sample size used to create the initial split half dataset was relatively small, in part due to attrition over the course of the online survey. As a result, data for ratings of mothers' behaviours were more complete compared to ratings of fathers. The study could be improved with a larger overall sample size in order to increase the sample size used to create the split half dataset. Although it was possible to conduct EFAs for mothers and fathers separately and have a larger sample size, our present goal was to enable quantitative comparisons between mothers' and fathers' parenting.

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

Despite the limitations, the present study is, to our knowledge, the first to investigate dimensions of parental monitoring of young adults and in an immigrant context, and to present a multidimensional scale to measure monitoring in this developmental stage. Replication of our preliminary findings in bigger samples is needed to increase confidence in the validity of the dimensions of parental monitoring and the scale.

As discussed, our finding that parental solicitation and child disclosure loaded onto one single factor suggests that parental monitoring may be better understood as a relational construct in young adulthood. Future investigations should focus on whether this factor is unique to Chinese immigrant families or if it replicates in other ethnocultural immigrant and non-immigrant groups. To continue to advance a theory of parental monitoring, studies should investigate causal and mediational links between dimensions of monitoring, other parenting dimensions, parent-child relationship constructs, and young adult well-being. For example, the present study indicated some overlap between indirect and intrusive monitoring. It is important to continue to tease apart these forms of monitoring to understand their distinctions such as by considering the motivations for each form of monitoring and investigating whether monitoring behaviours with and without subsequent efforts to behaviourally or psychologically control are differentially interpreted and have different effects on young adult well-being and parent-young adult relationships.

With an initial understanding of the distinct dimensions of parental monitoring in young adulthood established, a logical next step is to investigate the effects of mothers' and fathers' engagement of each monitoring dimension on young adult development. While it may be informative to investigate how mean levels of monitoring predict young adult well-being, it is also important to remember that children are active agents in parent-child interactions such that their interpretations of parenting play important roles in the effects of parenting (So & Costigan, 2021), in line with transactional and dynamic conceptualizations of family functioning (Kucynski & De Mol, 2015). Children's active role in their own development and within families are even more apparent in the developmental stage of young adulthood compared to earlier stages of childhood and adolescence. Thus, any investigation of the effects of parental

monitoring dimensions should take into account young adults' interpretations of them. As such, the functions and meanings that young adults ascribe to mothers' versus fathers' indirect monitoring should be further explored in the context of Chinese and Canadian cultural norms and values. For example, given the Chinese norm for mothers to be more directly involved in communication with children, what do young adults think of their relationships with their mothers when they ask their fathers for information in addition to or instead of asking them directly? How do young adults who subscribe to Canadian family values perceive fathers who rely primarily on mothers for information, rather than asking them directly?

The present study identified a group of infrequently occurring intrusive monitoring behaviours. Because their base rates are low, it is harder to study such phenomena. However, our findings suggest that it is important to continue to study these behaviours as they have important links to other parenting behaviours, parent-child relationships, and young adult development. Further investigation is needed to understand how the constellation of behaviours in the third factor are related or distinct from each other, such as whether there are distinct subgroups of intrusive behaviours.

Finally, our findings highlighted differences between young adults' perceptions of mothers' and fathers' parenting, the complexities of fathering, and differing connotations of mothers' versus fathers' behaviours in a Chinese Canadian cultural context. There is much work to do on developing more nuanced understandings of fathering in Chinese Canadian families and young adult interpretations of fathering and father-child relationships that may change over time. It will be important to supplement studies focused on young adults' perceptions of mothering and fathering with qualitative and quantitative research on parents' self-reported parental monitoring

efforts and motivations for monitoring in order to attain a more complete narrative of how mothering and fathering is perceived and understood by all family members.

Chapter 4: Met and Unmet Expectations for Parental Monitoring in Chinese Canadian Young Adults

Abstract

Using a three-factor model of parental monitoring, the present study investigated the relations between met and unmet expectations for mothers' and fathers' monitoring and child well-being in a sample of Chinese Canadian young adults aged 18 to 30 years (M_{age} = 22.90, *SD* = 3.62). Participants rated perceived and ideal (i.e., preferred) levels of their mothers' and fathers' engagement in Parent-Child Mutual Communication, Indirect Monitoring, and Intrusive Monitoring, and depressive symptoms and self-esteem. Polynomial regressions and response surface analyses revealed that unmet expectations for mothers' and fathers' engagement in different factors of monitoring differentially predicted well-being. Results provided a more nuanced understanding of parenting from both developmental and cultural perspectives. Our findings suggest that parental monitoring in young adulthood is better understood as a relational construct; highlight the importance of children's interpretations in shaping the effects of parenting; and illustrate the complexities of interpretations of mothers' and fathers' engagement in different monitoring methods.

Introduction

The prolonging of the transition from adolescence to adulthood raises questions about whether parents also prolong adolescent-appropriate parenting practices and whether the positive effects of such practices continue from adolescence into young adulthood. Parental monitoring refers to a set of behaviours that enable parents to obtain information and keep track of their children's activities. Monitoring behaviours include parental solicitation of information from children and individuals who know their children, control (e.g., setting rules for child activities and disclosure), direct supervision (Dishion & McMahon, 1998), snooping (Hawk, 2017; Rote & Smetana, 2008), and child disclosure (Smetana, 2008; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). The construct of parental monitoring has been studied almost exclusively in childhood and adolescence. Some monitoring behaviours have been studied and discussed in the context of young adulthood but not always labeled as such. Furthermore, the parenting literature has primarily focused on the unidirectional effects of parental behaviours on child outcomes; only more recently have there been calls for attention to bidirectionality (e.g., So & Costigan, 2021).

The current study sought to expand the literature on parenting of young adults by focusing on parental monitoring. In a sample of Chinese Canadian young adults, we first investigated the frequencies of three methods of parental monitoring (parent-child mutual communication; indirect monitoring; and intrusive monitoring). Second, to examine young adults' roles in shaping the effects of parental monitoring on their own well-being, we investigated young adults' active interpretations of parental monitoring.

Parenting and Parental Monitoring of Young Adults

The parenting of young adult children is an understudied area, especially in light of recent socioeconomic changes in North America that have prolonged the transition from

adolescence to adulthood. This transition is an unstable time when individuals achieve the milestones of autonomy, financial independence, equality in parent-child relationships, and taking responsibility for one's own actions (Arnett, 2000; 2001). The existing small body of research on parenting of young adults has primarily focused on practices such as helicopter parenting (solving problems and doing tasks that young adults should do on their own; Padilla-Walker & Nelson, 2012), overparenting (e.g., intrusion of young adult's life and direction, close monitoring, anticipatory problem-solving, overscheduling young adult's activities; Leung & Shek, 2018), and invasive parenting (e.g., snooping; Ledbetter & Vik, 2012), which have been deemed to be inappropriate and to interfere with the developmental milestones of achieving self-reliance, autonomy, independence, and equality in parent-child relationships. Findings from this body of research have shown the problematic effects of such parenting practices on young adult adjustment (e.g., Ledbetter & Vik, 2012; LeMoyne & Buchanan, 2011).

Recent emerging research and discourse have raised concerns about the relative lack of attention to positive, or at least benign, parenting practices in young adulthood (Padilla-Walker et al., 2019). Our preliminary research (Chapters 2 and 3, this dissertation) showed that parents of Chinese Canadian young adults engage in many monitoring behaviours above and beyond those with negative connotations and that benign monitoring behaviours are much more central to the construct of parental monitoring than the ones deemed to be problematic. Notably, although young adults were asked to list all the ways in which their parents *monitor* them (i.e., how parents find out information about children), a number of behaviours emerged that fall within the related constructs of helicopter parenting (setting limits on young adults' activities, not allowing young adults to engage in age-appropriate tasks), mediated invasion (checking young adults' social networking pages), verbal invasion (asking personal questions), and spatial

invasion/snooping (going through young adults' belongings without permission; opening young adults' mail). We identified three aspects of parental monitoring. The first was Parent-Child Mutual Communication consisting of parent- and child-initiated conversation, parental solicitation, and child disclosure. Second, Indirect Monitoring consisted of parents asking each other for information about children, obtaining information through a family group chat, and asking others to ask young adults for desired information. Third, Intrusive Monitoring included snooping/invasive behaviours (e.g., looking through young adults' things without permission, eavesdropping), control (e.g., setting limits on young adult behaviours and expectations for disclosure), asking detailed questions, and asking extended family for information.

The present study aims to understand the mean levels and relative frequencies of Chinese Canadian young adults' perceived parental engagement in the three factors of parental monitoring and how met and unmet expectations for parenting predict young adult self-efficacy and depressive symptoms. We focused on self-efficacy as autonomy and independence are important developmental milestones of young adulthood and excessive parental monitoring may infringe on these (Arnett 2000; 2001). The lack of the opportunity to independently make decisions without parental oversight may interfere with young adults' development of confidence that they can carry out life tasks on their own (Bandura, 1997). Indeed, the restrictive nature of authoritarian parenting has been linked to decreased self-efficacy and self-esteem in White American youth in the transition from high school to college (Smith, 2007). Additionally, overparenting has been negatively associated with self-efficacy in young adults due to lack of chances for trial and error (Darlow et al., 2017). Low self-efficacy has in turn been linked to the development of depressive symptoms in young adulthood (Liem et al., 2010; Soysa & Wilcomb, 2015). Furthermore, research has shown that unmet expectations for some aspects of parenting

predicts increased depressive symptoms in Chinese Canadian and Chinese American children (Wu & Chao, 2005; 2011; So & Costigan, 2021).

Met and Unmet Expectations of Parenting

The parenting and child development literatures have been primarily parent-centric and focused on how parental behaviours predict child outcomes. Although parents play influential roles in child development, unidirectional linear models have been criticized for their erroneous assumptions of parents' active and children's passive roles in development (Kuczynski & De Mol, 2015). As children's cognitive abilities develop, they actively interpret and make sense of parental behaviours in light of a myriad of internal and external social information such as observations of how other children are parented and their own preferences for how they wish to be parented (Camras et al., 2012; So & Costigan, 2021). A focus on children's role in influencing the effects of parenting is warranted, especially in young adulthood when individuals have more developed values and beliefs. For example, Choi and colleagues (2020) found that Asian American college students' subjective appraisals of intergenerational conflict moderated the link between parent-child intergenerational conflict and depressive symptoms. Camras and colleagues (2012) found that although Chinese American adolescents did not approve of coercive parenting practices, adolescents' benign interpretations of such behaviours buffered the negative effects of coercion on depressive symptoms.

A few studies have explored adolescents' active interpretations of parenting by focusing on met and unmet expectations for parenting assessed through congruence and discrepancies between children's perceived levels of actual parenting and children's ideal (preferred) levels of parenting. Thus, children may implicitly compare the parenting they are receiving with the parenting they desire, resulting in conclusions of whether parenting is "too much," "too little," or

"just right." Wu and Chao (2005; 2011) investigated discrepancies between Chinese American adolescents' perceptions and ideals of parental warmth and found that discrepancies were associated with increased youth internalizing symptoms. That is, the greater difference between the level of warmth they perceived their parents to be providing and the level of warmth they wanted their parents to provide, the more internalizing symptoms they reported. Using more stringent and statistically sound analytical methods, our previous research found that discrepancies between Chinese Canadian children's perceptions and ideals of fathers' monitoring knowledge predicted increased child depressive symptoms, whereas congruence was associated with minimized levels of depressive symptoms (So & Costigan, 2021). Interestingly, the same discrepancies did not predict child self-esteem nor did discrepancies in mothers' monitoring knowledge predict child well-being.

Cultural Factors

Chinese Canadian families live at a unique intersection between two distinct sets of values and norms. The differences between Chinese and Western cultural views of parenting have been well established (Chao, 1994). Chinese cultural values emphasize children's lifelong obedience to parents, filial piety, and hierarchical family relationships (Lam, 1997; Sung, 1998) that may conflict with Western values. Furthermore, parents assume roles as teachers who deliberately train (*chiao shun*), govern (*guan*), and educate their children to become competent and academically excellent adults who behave in socially appropriate ways (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Costigan et al., 2010; Kim & Wong, 2002). All of these tasks require high levels of parental involvement and close monitoring of young adults' behaviours and choices including day-to-day life decisions, academic performance (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lim & Lim, 2003), career choices (Liu et al., 2015), and choice of marital partner (Cao et al., 2019). Western

parenting, on the other hand, is guided by values of fostering independence and autonomy in adolescence (Chao, 1994). By late adolescence and young adulthood, parent-child relationships in Western families are likely characterized by more equality (e.g., Arnett, 2000; Koepke & Denissen, 2012) compared to Chinese traditional hierarchical family structures.

Upon immigration, parents often acculturate to the host culture more slowly than children, leading to acculturation gaps within the family (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Phinney et al., 2000; Telzer, 2010). These gaps may manifest as differences between parents' and young adults' opinions of appropriate parental monitoring practices, which may ultimately lead to young adults' discrepancies between perceived and ideal parenting. Chinese immigrant parents may hold strongly onto Chinese traditional ways of monitoring whereas their children may desire Western ways of monitoring. Indeed, findings show that Chinese immigrant-origin adolescents report the same ideals (preferences) of parental warmth, reasoning, monitoring, and parent-child open communication as White North American adolescents (So & Costigan, 2019; Wu & Chao, 2005; Wu & Chao, 2011).

Despite the overall group level differences in child and parent acculturation, it is important to note that there also exists intra-group variability (e.g., Costigan, 2010). Some young adults who are strongly oriented toward Chinese traditional parenting values may interpret certain parental monitoring behaviours as culturally appropriate and thus may not experience negative effects compared to those who orient more strongly toward Western values. Further complicating the story, evidence shows that Chinese culture is becoming more Westernized over time, with highly educated and financially well-off Chinese parents living in Asia increasingly endorsing Western values and child socialization goals (Chuang, 2009; Park et al., 2014). Given the high level of variability in the demographics of parents of young adults in contemporary

society, taking an intraindividual rather than a between-groups analytical approach may be more conducive in understanding the effects of parenting discrepancies.

Current Study

To our knowledge, the present study was the first to study parental monitoring and congruence and discrepancies of monitoring in young adults. We first explored the relative mean levels of perceived parental monitoring and their links to young adult well-being. With respect to met and unmet expectations of parental monitoring, we hypothesized that greater discrepancies between Chinese Canadian young adults' perceptions and ideals of parental monitoring (across three methods) for both mothers and fathers would predict lower elf-efficacy and more depressive symptoms.

Method

Participants

The dataset from Chapter 3 of this dissertation was used. A sample of 196 ethnically Chinese young adults living in Canada fully completed an online survey. An additional 78 participants partially completed the survey, the majority of whom fully completed items assessing mothers' monitoring, but did not fully complete ratings of fathers' monitoring, well-being, and demographic information. Data from these individuals were included in analyses that did not require information that was missing. Participants completed the survey if they met all inclusion criteria: aged 18 to 30 years, living in Canada, either born in Canada or immigrated to Canada before age 15 years, and had current contact with at least one parent.

Participants were on average 22.90 years old (SD = 3.62). The majority of the sample was female (78.70%) and second-generation individuals born in Canada (65.50%). The majority of first-generation individuals originated from China (61.40%), Hong Kong (14.30%), and Taiwan

(8.60%), with the remainder from other Asian countries (10.00%) and Western countries (4.30%). The first-generation participants immigrated to Canada at age 6.60 years (*SD* =4.19), with both parents (75.70%). The majority of participants lived in British Columbia (28.50%), Ontario (25.20%), and Alberta (11.70%) and were full-time students (76.80%), of which 70.60% were pursuing a Bachelor's degree. Over half (54.90%) of participants were single; 29.70% were in a relationship; and 14.90% were married or cohabitating with a partner. Almost half of participants were living with both parents (48.70%), while 17.6% lived with roommates, 16.00% with a partner/spouse, and 13.40% were living alone. Over half of participants living apart from parents lived more than a 2-hour drive from mothers (53.50%) and fathers (55.80%). Over 90% of parents were reported to be ethnically Chinese, with over 80% born in China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. The majority of young adults reported growing up in middle class families (36.70% lower middle class, 36.70% middle class, 19.90% upper middle class).

Procedure

Participants were recruited with online advertisements posted on social networking sites, recruitment e-mails and messages sent to university student clubs and community organizations, flyers posted in public spaces, and word of mouth. The total number of individuals who heard about the study is unknown. The majority of participants reported learning about the study via social media (67.00%) and word of mouth (20.70%). Participants accessed an online survey at any time of day and on a device of their choice, and they were entered in a draw for a cash honorarium.

Measures

Demographic Information

Participants reported their age, sex, country of birth, age at immigration, with whom they immigrated, education, student status, occupational status, socioeconomic status, with whom they lived, living distance away from parents, and frequency of in-person and virtual (e.g., video call, phone call, text messaging) contact with parents. They also reported their mothers' and fathers' ethnicity, birth country, age at immigration, and marital status. See Appendix A for all questions.

Perceived and Ideal Parental Monitoring

Twenty-three items assessing three factors of perceived parental monitoring (Chapter 3, this dissertation) were administered. Six items measured Parent-Child Mutual Communication. Four of these items assessed parental solicitation and initiation of communication; two items assessed young adult initiation of communication. An example item is "My mother/father creates opportunities to talk to me (e.g., initiating activities together)." Four items assessed Indirect Monitoring. An example item is "My father (mother) asks my mother (father) for information about me." Thirteen items assessed Intrusive Monitoring. An example item is "My mother/father eavesdrops on my conversations." See Appendix C for all questions.

To assess ideals of parental monitoring, the same items were reworded to ask how often parents *should* engage in each behaviour with young adults the same age as participants. The two items that measured young adult behaviours were reworded to ask how often "young adults your age" should engage in such behaviours. See Appendix E for all questions.

Descriptive statistics of perceived and ideal ratings of parental monitoring are presented in Table 4.1. All items were rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 2 = *rarely*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *often*, 5 = *very often*). All items were assessed separately for perceived and ideal mothers' and

fathers' monitoring. All ratings achieved adequate to good reliability with the exception of ratings of perceived and ideal Indirect Monitoring for both mothers and fathers.

Table 4.1. Descriptive statistics and reliability of three factors of perceived and ideal parental monitoring

	Perceived Parental Monitoring					Ideal Parental Monitoring				
Factor	*N*	Mean (*SD*)	Skew	Kurtosis	Cronbach alpha	*N*	Mean (*SD*)	Skew	Kurtosis	Cronbach alpha
Parent-child mutual communication										
Mothers	270	3.27 (0.74)	0.02	-0.34	.78	272	3.54 (0.59)	0.04	0.13	.82
Fathers	210	2.51 (0.85)	0.27	-0.28	.88	211	3.19 (0.64)	-0.86	2.04	.84
Indirect monitoring										
Mothers	259	1.96 (0.74)	0.87	0.59	.63	262	2.01 (0.59)	0.30	-0.25	.59
Fathers	217	2.38 (0.82)	0.42	-0.16	.63	219	2.11 (0.58)	0.37	-0.14	.53
Intrusive monitoring										
Mothers	270	2.34 (0.71)	0.88	0.37	.86	272	1.79 (0.37)	0.85	1.05	.76
Fathers	210	1.70 (0.57)	1.21	1.36	.84	211	1.58 (0.42)	2.03	7.16	.85

Note. Items are rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Often*, 5 = *Very Often*).

Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy was measured using the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995; see Appendix G). The GSE consists of 10 items rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = *not true at all*, 2 = *hardly true*, 3 = *moderately true*, 4 = *exactly true*). An example item is "I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities"). The GSE has been validated cross-culturally (e.g., Luszczynska et al., 2005) and has demonstrated good psychometric properties in samples of American college students (Majer, 2009) and Chinese university students in Hong Kong (Schwarzer et al., 1997). Internal consistency was .87.

Depressive Symptoms

Participants completed the 20-item Center for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977; see Appendix H). Young adults reported the frequency of symptoms over the past week on a four-point scale from 0 (*rarely or none of the time/less than 1 day*) to 3 (*most of the time/5-7 days*). Item scores were summed, with higher total scores indicating more depressive symptoms. The CES-D has demonstrated good reliability and validity in a wide range of populations including Chinese Canadian university adults (Chia & Costigan, 2006). Internal consistency was .92.

Analytical Approach

Polynomial regression (PR) and response surface analysis were used to assess the main hypotheses about the effects of met and unmet expectations for parental monitoring on young adult well-being (RSA; Barranti et al., 2017; Edwards, 2002; Human et al., 2016; Schönbrodt et al., 2018). RSA allows for the testing of the joint predictive effects of perceived and ideal parenting on a single outcome, without combining the two predictor variables into one (e.g., a difference score). For each analysis, polynomial regressions were conducted in which each

outcome variable was regressed on each predictor variable (perceived and ideal parenting), the squares of each predictor variable, and the interaction between the predictor variables. PR coefficients were then used to compute five RSA coefficients (a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, a_5) and to create a three-dimensional response surface graph depicting the relations between the three variables.

Four RSA coefficients were used to test for linear and curvilinear effects along the lines of congruence and incongruence on the response surfaces. The line of congruence (LOC) is the line formed when perceived and ideal ratings are perfectly equal while the line of incongruence (LOIC) is the line formed when perceived and ideal ratings are perfectly opposite (e.g., perceived monitoring rating of 1, ideal monitoring rating of 7). The first two coefficients, a_1 and a_2, test for the linearity and curvilinearity of the LOC, respectively. Coefficient a_1 tests whether depression (or self-efficacy) decreases (or increases) as young adults both desire and perceive increasingly higher and congruent levels of parental monitoring on each factor. Coefficient a_2 tests whether congruence at different mean levels have different (i.e., nonlinear) effects on depression and self-efficacy. Coefficients a_3 and a_4 test the linearity and curvilinearity of the LOIC, respectively. Coefficients a_3 tests whether different directions of discrepancies (i.e., too much or too little monitoring) have different effects on well-being. Coefficient a_4 tests whether the magnitude of discrepancies is predictive of well-being, regardless of the direction of discrepancies.

When one or more of these coefficients were significant, the fifth RSA coefficient along with the slopes and intercepts of the principal axes of each response surface were used to determine the presence of congruence effects. A broad congruence effect would indicate that young adults are more self-efficacious and less depressed when their expectations for parenting are met compared to when they are unmet, whereas a strict congruence effect would indicate that

well-being variables are maximized or minimized at perfect congruence between perceived and ideal ratings (i.e., met expectations) rather than another combination of ratings (e.g., more perceived than ideal parenting; Humberg et al., 2019). For broad congruence effects, main effects of predictor variables are allowed whereas a strict congruence effect requires that no other main effects are present, as this effect indicates that it is strictly the congruence (i.e., met expectations) that affects the outcome (Humberg et al., 2019). Analyses were conducted using the *RSA* package for R (Schönbrodt & Humberg, 2020).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

To determine whether major demographic grouping variables of age and gender were cofounded, their links with young adult generational status, student status, marital status, living situation (living with at least one parent or not; distance away from parents), and contact with parents (in-person and virtual contact) were examined.

Age was significantly correlated with generational status ($r = .19$, $p = .009$), longer length of residence in Canada ($r = .73$, $p < .001$) amongst first-generation participants; student status ($r = -.56$, $p < .001$); living situation ($r = .26$, $p < .001$); in-person contact with mothers ($r = -.15$, $p = .035$) and fathers ($r = -.15$, $p = .045$); and living distance to mothers and fathers ($r = -.35$, $p = .001$ for both parents) amongst those who lived apart from parents. Older individuals were more likely to be partnered rather than single, $\chi^2(1, N = 194) = 8.54$, $p = .003$. Age was not correlated with virtual contact with mothers or fathers. As age increased, young adults were more likely to be second generation Canadian-born individuals, living apart from parents, partnered; were less likely to be students; and had less frequent in-person contact with mothers and fathers.

The only significant gender differences were that females were more likely to be students than males, $\chi^2(1, N = 181) = 4.01$, $p = .045$; and females, compared to males, were more likely to have more frequent virtual contact with mothers, $F(1, 179) = 4.79$, $p = .03$, and marginally with fathers $F(1, 174) = 3.63$, $p = .058$.

Demographic Differences in Perceived and Ideal Parental Monitoring

Next, to develop a more nuanced understanding of how young adult sons and daughters are monitored by mothers and fathers and their desires for parental monitoring, differences in perceived and ideal parental monitoring based on demographic variables of age, gender, generational status, student status, living situation (living with at least one parent or not; distance away from parents), and contact with parents (in-person and virtual contact) were evaluated. Age and gender were entered as control variables if they were correlated with demographic variables of interest.

Age

Young adult age was not significantly correlated with perceptions and ideals of mothers' and fathers' monitoring with three exceptions. Age was negatively correlated with perceived mothers' Intrusive Monitoring ($r = -.20$, $p = .005$), ideal mothers' Intrusive Monitoring ($r = -.15$, $p = .04$), and ideal fathers' Intrusive Monitoring ($r = -.19$, $p = .007$). As young adult age increased, the less mothers engaged in Intrusive Monitoring, and the less young adults desired Intrusive Monitoring from both mothers and fathers.

Gender

A MANCOVA was conducted to test whether there were gender differences in perceptions and ideals of parental monitoring. There were no gender differences found, $F(12, 176) = 1.16$, $p = .32$.

Generational Status

Controlling for young adult age, a MANCOVA was conducted to test whether there were differences amongst first- and second-generation individuals in perceptions and ideals of mothers' and fathers' monitoring. Results revealed no significant differences, $F(12, 175) = 1.14$, $p = .33$.

Student status

A MANCOVA was conducted to test whether parental monitoring differed based on whether young adults were students, controlling for young adult age and gender. Results revealed no significant differences in perceived and ideal parental monitoring for both mothers and fathers, $F(12, 159) = 0.83$, $p = .62$.

Living situation

With respect to young adults' living status (living with or apart from parents), after controlling for age, a MANCOVA revealed no significant differences in perceived and ideal parental monitoring, $F(12, 166) = 1.19$, $p = .29$. Amongst those living apart from parents, after controlling for young adult age, living distance away from parents was not related to perceived or ideal parental monitoring factors for mothers and fathers.

Marital status

A MANCOVA tested whether parental monitoring differed based on whether young adults were single or partnered (in a relationship, living with partner, or married), controlling for age and gender. Young adult marital status did not predict differences in perceived or ideal mothers' and fathers' monitoring on any of the three factors, $F(12, 71) = 0.75$, $p = .70$.

Overall, the demographic variables of generational status, student status, living situation, and marital status did not predict differences in perceived or ideal parental monitoring on all

three factors for both mothers and fathers. The only demographic variables that predicted differences in perceptions and ideals of Intrusive Monitoring were young adult age. No demographic variables predicted Parent-Child Mutual Communication or Indirect Monitoring.

Differences in Mean Levels of Perceived and Ideal Monitoring

The means, standard deviations, skew, and kurtosis of all 12 parental monitoring scales are presented in Table 4.1. Repeated measures ANOVAs examined whether parents engaged in significantly different levels of Parent-Child Mutual Communication, Indirect Monitoring, and Intrusive Monitoring. For mothers, the results showed significant differences amongst the three factors of perceived monitoring, $F(1.68, 144.19) = 102.31$, $p < .001$. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests revealed that mothers engaged in significantly greater levels of Mother-Child Mutual Communication ($M = 3.40$, $SE = 0.08$) than Intrusive Monitoring ($M = 2.21$, $SE = 0.07$), both of which were, in turn, significantly higher than levels of Indirect Monitoring ($M = 1.95$, $SE = 0.09$). That is, mothers were reported to engage in significantly more mother-child Mutual Communication than Intrusive Monitoring, followed by significantly less Indirect Monitoring.

For fathers, results showed significant differences amongst factors of perceived monitoring, $F(1.71, 146.87) = 56.03$, $p < .001$. Post-hoc Bonferroni tests revealed that fathers engaged in significantly higher levels of father-child Mutual Communication ($M = 2.56$, $SE = 0.09$) than Intrusive Monitoring ($M = 1.63$, $SE = 0.06$), and significantly higher levels of Indirect Monitoring ($M = 2.50$, $SE = 0.09$) than Intrusive Monitoring. That is, fathers engaged in comparable levels of father-child mutual communication and indirect monitoring, which were both higher than Intrusive Monitoring.

These analyses were repeated with reports of *ideal* monitoring. There were significant differences amongst the factors of ideal mothers' monitoring, $F(1.66, 144.18) = 405.55$, p

< .001. Young adults reported significantly higher levels of ideal mother-child Mutual Communication (M = 3.68, SE = 0.06) than Indirect Monitoring (M = 2.06, SE = 0.07), which in turn was significantly higher than Intrusive Monitoring (M = 1.76, SE = 0.04). Thus, young adults preferred the highest level of Parent-Child Mutual Communication, followed by Indirect Monitoring, and lowest levels of Intrusive Monitoring. This order of ideal maternal monitoring behaviours differs from participants' reports of how mothers are actually monitoring.

Similarly, there were significant differences amongst factors of ideal monitoring for fathers, $F(1.86, 159.84) = 369.02$, $p < .001$. Young adults reported significantly higher ideal levels of father-child Mutual Communication (M = 3.29, SE = 0.07) than Indirect Monitoring (M = 2.22, SE = 0.06), both of which were significantly higher than ideal levels of Intrusive Monitoring (M = 1.53, SE = 0.04). Thus, similar to mothers, young adults preferred the highest level of father-child Mutual Communication, followed by Indirect Monitoring, and lowest levels of Intrusive Monitoring. Notably, the order of ideal preferences for fathers' monitoring factors mirrored the participants' reports of how fathers are actually monitoring.

Comparisons of mothers' and fathers' levels of perceived and ideal monitoring were investigated using repeated measures ANOVAs. Results revealed that young adults reported higher levels of mother-child Mutual Communication (M = 3.41, SD = 0.77) than father-child Mutual Communication (M = 2.55, SD = 0.81), $F(1, 85) = 73.21$, $p < .001$. Fathers (M = 2.50, SD = 0.87) engaged in significantly higher levels of Indirect Monitoring than mothers (M = 1.95, SD = 0.81), $F(1, 85) = 22.49$, $p < .001$. Mothers (M = 2.21, SD = 0.68) engaged in higher levels of Intrusive Monitoring than fathers (M = 1.62, SD = 0.57), $F(1, 85) = 51.41$, $p < .001$. Thus, mothers engaged in more parent-child Mutual Communication and Intrusive Monitoring compared to fathers, while fathers engaged in more Indirect Monitoring than mothers.

With respect to comparisons of ideal levels of mothers' versus fathers' monitoring, repeated measures ANOVAs showed that young adults desired significantly higher levels of parent-child Mutual Communication from mothers (M = 3.68, SE = 0.05) than fathers (M = 3.29, SE = 0.07), $F(1, 86) = 34.01$, $p < .001$. Young adults desired significantly higher levels of Indirect Monitoring from fathers (M = 2.11, SE = 0.04) than mothers (M = 2.02, SD = 0.04), $F(1, 216) = 4.65$, $p = .03$. Young adults desired significantly higher levels of Intrusive Monitoring from mothers (M = 1.80, SE = 0.02) than fathers (M = 1.58, SE = 0.03), $F(1, 210) = 85.75$, $p < .001$. Thus, young adults desired and expected more Mutual Communication and Intrusive Monitoring from mothers compared to fathers, and more Indirect Monitoring from fathers compared to mothers.

Perceived Monitoring and Young Adult Well-Being

Before examining links between perceived monitoring and young adult well-being, age and gender differences in dependent variables were investigated. There were no gender differences in self-efficacy (M_{male} = 31.54, SD_{male} = 4.90; M_{female} = 31.04, SD_{female} = 4.45), $t(193) = 0.62$, $p = .54$; or depressive symptoms (M_{male} = 19.03, SD_{male} = 10.23; M_{female} = 19.62, SD_{female} = 11.50), $t(189) = 0.29$, $p = .77$. Older participants were more likely to report higher levels of self-efficacy ($r = .17$, $p = .02$) and fewer depressive symptoms ($r = -.18$, $p = .01$) than younger participants.

Partial correlations were calculated between factors of perceived and ideal parental monitoring and young adult self-efficacy and depressive symptoms, controlling for young adult age (Table 4.2). Both perceived mother-child and father-child Mutual Communication were significantly positively correlated with self-efficacy and negatively correlated with depressive symptoms. Perceived mothers' Intrusive Monitoring was significantly negatively correlated with

self-efficacy and positively correlated with depressive symptoms. These correlations were not significant for fathers. Perceived Indirect Monitoring did not correlate with self-efficacy or depressive symptoms for both parents.

Table 4.2. Partial correlations amongst main variables, controlling for young adult age and gender (N = 196)

	Self-Efficacy	Depressive Symptoms
Parent-child mutual communication		
Perceived		
Mothers	.18*	-.17*
Fathers	.23**	-.20**
Ideal		
Mothers	.16*	-.11
Fathers	.13†	-.12
Indirect monitoring		
Perceived		
Mothers	-.04	-.00
Fathers	.07	-.03
Ideal		
Mothers	-.03	-.07
Fathers	.05	-.05
Intrusive monitoring		
Perceived		
Mothers	-.15*	.16*
Fathers	.04	.10
Ideal		
Mothers	.05	-.11
Fathers	.03	-.08

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, † $p < .06$

Ideal levels of parental monitoring were generally not significantly correlated with self-efficacy or depressive symptoms with two exceptions. Ratings of ideal mother-child Mutual Communication were significantly positively correlated with self-efficacy. Ratings of ideal father-child Mutual Communication were marginally positively correlated with self-efficacy.

Parenting Discrepancies and Young Adult Well-Being

Polynomial regressions (PR) and response surface analyses (RSA) were conducted to examine whether congruence and discrepancies in perceived and ideal parental monitoring predicted self-depressive symptoms and self-efficacy, controlling for young adult age and gender. PR and RSA coefficients are presented in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 for mothers and fathers, respectively. A summary of all findings is presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.3. Discrepancy and congruence in mothers' monitoring as predictors of young adult depressive symptoms and self-esteem

	Unstandardized regression slopes						RSA coefficients					Position of Principal Axis	
	b_0 (*SE*)	$b_{perceived}$ (*SE*)	b_{ideal} (*SE*)	$b^2_{peceived}$ (*SE*)	$b^2_{perceived*ideal}$ (*SE*)	b^2_{ideal} (*SE*)	a_1 (*SE*)	a_2 (*SE*)	a_3 (*SE*)	a_4 (*SE*)	a_5 (*SE*)	Intercept [95% C.I.]	Slope [95% C.I.]
Parent-Child Mutual Communication (*N* = 273)													
Depressive Symptoms	19.15*** (3.22)	0.19 (2.02)	-8.39** (2.74)	2.33 (1.40)	-6.02* (2.62)	8.31*** (2.30)	-8.21* (2.52)	4.61* (1.85)	8.58* (4.11)	16.65*** (4.99)	-5.98* (2.68)	0.44 [0.17, 0.71]	0.42 [0.07, 0.84]
Self-Efficacy	31.53*** (1.53)	0.30 (0.75)	2.83** (1.03)	0.57 (0.47)	0.63 (0.97)	-2.19** (0.82)	3.12*** (0.78)	-0.98 (0.59)	-2.53 (1.62)	-2.25 (1.88)	2.76** (0.89)	0.63 [-0.25, 1.29]	0.11 [-0.33, 0.46]
Indirect Monitoring (*N* = 266)													
Depressive Symptoms	17.09*** (3.73)	0.91 (2.99)	-3.16 (4.33)	2.17 (1.51)	-3.59 (3.11)	1.04 (3.04)	-2.25 (3.08)	-0.38 (1.56)	4.07 (6.77)	6.81 (6.49)	1.13 (3.23)	0.63 [-22.49, 22.61]	1.36 [-17.64, 19.53]
Self-Efficacy	32.36*** (1.60)	-0.73 (1.05)	0.65 (1.58)	-1.47** (0.54)	2.10 (1.15)	-0.66 (1.12)	-0.07 (1.22)	-0.03 (0.69)	-1.38 (2.39)	-4.23 (2.38)	-0.82 (1.61)	0.39 [-5.38, 9.03]	1.46 [-4.466, 9.76]
Intrusive Monitoring (*N* = 273)													
Depressive Symptoms	17.60** (6.72)	-8.63* (3.71)	6.19 (10.32)	1.01 (1.29)	-9.59*** (2.74)	6.80 (4.44)	-2.44 (10.91)	-1.78 (5.11)	-14.83 (11.02)	17.41** (5.29)	-5.79 (4.82)	-0.58 [-0.95, 0.62]	0.57 [0.20, 1.48]
Self-Efficacy	31.44*** (2.38)	0.90 (1.58)	-1.19 (3.03)	0.15 (0.52)	1.56 (1.21)	-1.39 (1.35)	-0.29 (3.53)	0.33 (1.78)	2.09 (3.30)	-2.80 (1.85)	1.54 (1.54)	-0.46 [-5.08, 6.88]	0.42 [-1.18, 2.78]

Note. Young adult age and gender were entered as control variables in polynomial regressions; *SE* = standard error; a_1 = line of congruence; a_2 = curvilinearity in line of congruence; a_3 = line of incongruence; a_4 = curvilinearity in line of incongruence; intercepts and slopes of the first principal axis ((p_{10}, p_{11}, respectively) are presented for analyses predicting self-efficacy while intercepts and slopes of the second principal axis (p_{20}, p_{21}, respectively) are presented for analyses predicting depressive symptoms; $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Table 4.4. Discrepancy and congruence in fathers' monitoring as predictors of young adult depressive symptoms and self-esteem

	Unstandardized regression slopes						RSA coefficients					Position of Principal Axis	
	b_0 (*SE*)	$b_{perceived}$ (*SE*)	b_{ideal} (*SE*)	$b^2_{peceived}$ (*SE*)	$b^2_{perceived*ideal}$ (*SE*)	b^2_{ideal} (*SE*)	a_1 (*SE*)	a_2 (*SE*)	a_3 (*SE*)	a_4 (*SE*)	a_5 (*SE*)	Intercept [95% C.I.]	Slope [95% C.I.]
Parent-Child Mutual Communication (*N* = 216)													
Depressive Symptoms	19.95*** (3.60)	0.72 (1.86)	-3.03 (2.62)	2.89** (0.97)	-2.68 (2.41)	1.25 (1.84)	-2.31 (1.65)	1.46 (1.16)	3.75 (4.23)	6.81 (4.43)	1.65 (2.00)	0.59 [-2.65, 6.30]	1.79 [-9.98, 15.11]
Self-Efficacy	31.41*** (1.53)	0.57 (0.60)	1.28 (0.95)	-0.18 (0.34)	0.96 (0.88)	-0.35 (0.78)	1.85** (0.71)	0.42 (0.62)	-0.70 (1.42)	-1.49 (1.58)	0.17 (0.89)	0.53 [-8.64, 4.66]	0.84 [-0.42, 2.89]
Indirect Monitoring (*N* = 223)													
Depressive Symptoms	19.42*** (3.58)	-3.06 (2.26)	5.64 (3.60)	1.69 (0.98)	-4.08 (2.36)	4.54 (2.58)	2.58 (2.79)	2.14 (1.77)	-8.69 (5.33)	10.30* (4.90)	-2.85 (2.68)	-0.65 [-3.88, 1.04]	0.52 [-1.43, 5.48]
Self-Efficacy	31.74*** (1.57)	1.35 (0.91)	-0.10 (1.59)	0.42 (0.45)	0.84 (0.82)	-0.33 (0.87)	1.25 (1.23)	0.93 (0.74)	1.45 (2.28)	-0.74 (1.46)	0.75 (1.04)	-0.68 [-24.48, 31.52]	0.45 [-13.74, 14.08]
Intrusive Monitoring (*N* = 216)													
Depressive Symptoms	19.28*** (4.22)	4.32 (8.78)	-0.82 (7.37)	4.85** (1.86)	-5.51 (5.66)	3.00 (5.02)	3.50 (3.25)	2.35 (1.78)	5.15 (15.88)	13.36 (10.73)	1.84 (5.50)	0.50 [-32.62, 25.26]	1.39 [-23.00, 20.58]
Self-Efficacy	32.66*** (1.72)	4.59 (2.81)	-2.84 (2.28)	-0.24 (0.72)	3.24 (1.86)	-2.29 (1.68)	1.75 (1.32)	0.71 (0.77)	7.44 (4.94)	-5.77 (3.52)	2.05 (1.92)	-0.85 [-5.64, 1.67]	0.55 [-3.83, 2.97]

Note. Young adult age and gender were entered as control variables in polynomial regressions; *SE* = standard error; a_1 = line of congruence; a_2 = curvilinearity in line of congruence; a_3 = line of incongruence; a_4 = curvilinearity in line of incongruence; intercepts and slopes of the first principal axis ((p_{10}, p_{11}, respectively) are presented for analyses predicting self-efficacy while intercepts and slopes of the second principal axis (p_{20}, p_{21}, respectively) are presented for analyses predicting depressive symptoms; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Mothers

Congruence and discrepancies in mother-child Mutual Communication significantly predicted young adult depressive symptoms (Figure 2, Panel A). There was significant linearity (a_1 = -8.21, p = .001) and curvilinearity (a_2 = 4.61, p = .01) along the line of congruence, as well as significant linearity (a_3 = 8.58, p = .04) and curvilinearity (a_4 = 16.65, p < .001) along the line of incongruence. However, indices showed that depressive symptoms were not strictly minimized at perfect congruence (a_5 = -5.98, p = .03; 95% confidence intervals of p_{20} and p_{21} did not include 0 and 1, respectively), indicating the absence of a strict congruence effect. Taken together, depressive symptoms were lower at congruent mid-range levels of perceived and ideal Mutual Communication, and increased as young adults desired and received congruent decreasing levels of Mutual Communication. Additionally, depressive symptoms increased as the magnitude of discrepancies increased, and tended to be higher when young adults received more communication than desired.

Congruence in mother-child Mutual Communication also significantly predicted young adult self-efficacy (Figure 2, Panel D). There was a significant linear effect along the line of congruence (a_1 = 3.12, p < .001). Self-efficacy was not maximized at perfect congruence (a_5 = 2.76, p = .002), indicating the absence of a strict congruence effect. Taken together, self-efficacy increased as young adults desired and received congruent increasing levels of mother-child Mutual Communication, beginning at mid-range levels. However, congruence and discrepancies in mothers' Indirect Monitoring did not predict young adult depressive symptoms (Figure 2, Panel B) or self-efficacy (Figure 2, Panel E).

Finally, with respect to mothers' Intrusive Monitoring, congruence and discrepancies significantly predicted depressive symptoms (Figure 2, Panel C). There was significant

curvilinearity along the line of incongruence (a_4 = 17.41, p = .001). Indices suggested the presence of a strict congruence effect (a_3 = 0; a_5 = 0; 95% confidence intervals of p_{20} and p_{21} included 0 and 1, respectively), such that depressive symptoms were minimized along the line of congruence. Taken together, the more discrepant young adults' perceptions and ideals of mothers' Intrusive Monitoring, the more depressive symptoms they reported. This was true for discrepancies in both directions of receiving more Intrusive Monitoring than desired and receiving less Intrusive Monitoring than desired. Depressive symptoms were minimized when perceptions and ideals were perfectly congruent. In contrast, congruence and discrepancies in mothers' Intrusive Monitoring did not predict self-efficacy (Figure 2, Panel F).

Fathers

Congruence and discrepancies in father-child Mutual Communication did not significantly predict depressive symptoms (Figure 3, Panel A). However, congruence and discrepancies in father-child Mutual Communication did significantly predict self-efficacy (Figure 3, Panel D). There was a significant linear effect along the line of congruence (a_1 = 1.85, p = .009). Indices suggested that self-efficacy was maximized along the line of congruence (a_5 = 0; 95% confidence intervals of p_{10} and p_{11} included 0 and 1, respectively). Taken together, young adults who desired and received high levels of father-child Mutual Communication reported the highest level of self-efficacy. As they desired and received decreasing levels of father-child Mutual Communication, self-efficacy decreased. Furthermore, self-efficacy was highest when perceptions and ideals were perfectly congruent.

With respect to fathers' Indirect Monitoring, congruence and discrepancies significantly predicted young adult depressive symptoms (Figure 3, Panel B). There was significant curvilinearity along the line of incongruence (a_4 = 10.30, p = .04). Indices suggested that self-

efficacy was maximized along the line of incongruence ($a_5 = 0$; 95% confidence intervals of p_{20} and p_{21} included 0 and 1, respectively). Taken together, depressive symptoms increased as the magnitude of discrepancies in Indirect Monitoring increased in both directions (i.e., too much and too little monitoring) and depressive symptoms were lowest when perceptions and ideals were perfectly congruent. In contrast, congruence and discrepancies in fathers' Indirect Monitoring did not significantly predict self-efficacy (Figure 3, Panel E). Finally, congruence and discrepancies in fathers' Intrusive Monitoring did not significantly predict young adult depressive symptoms (Figure 3, Panel C) or self-efficacy (Figure 3, Panel F).

Table 4.5. Summary of predictive links between congruence/discrepancies in monitoring and young adult depressive symptoms and self-efficacy

	Depressive Symptoms	Self-Efficacy
Parent-Child Mutual Communication		
Mothers	Depressive symptoms were lower at congruent mid-range levels of perceived and ideal Mutual Communication, and increased as young adults desired and received congruent decreasing levels of Mutual Communication. Depressive symptoms increased as magnitude of discrepancies increased and tended to be higher when young adults received more communication than desired.	Self-efficacy increased as young adults desired and received congruent increasing levels of Mutual Communication, beginning at mid-range levels.
Fathers	No significant findings	Self-efficacy was highest when young adults desired and received high levels of mutual communication; and when perceptions and ideals were perfectly congruent. As desired and perceived Mutual Communication decreased, self-efficacy decreased.
Indirect Monitoring		
Mothers	No significant findings	No significant findings
Fathers	Depressive symptoms increased as the magnitude of discrepancies increased in both directions (i.e., too much and too little Indirect Monitoring).	No significant findings
Intrusive Monitoring		
Mothers	Depressive symptoms increased as magnitude of discrepancies increased. Depressive symptoms were minimized when perceptions and ideals were perfectly congruent.	No significant findings
Fathers	No significant findings	No significant findings

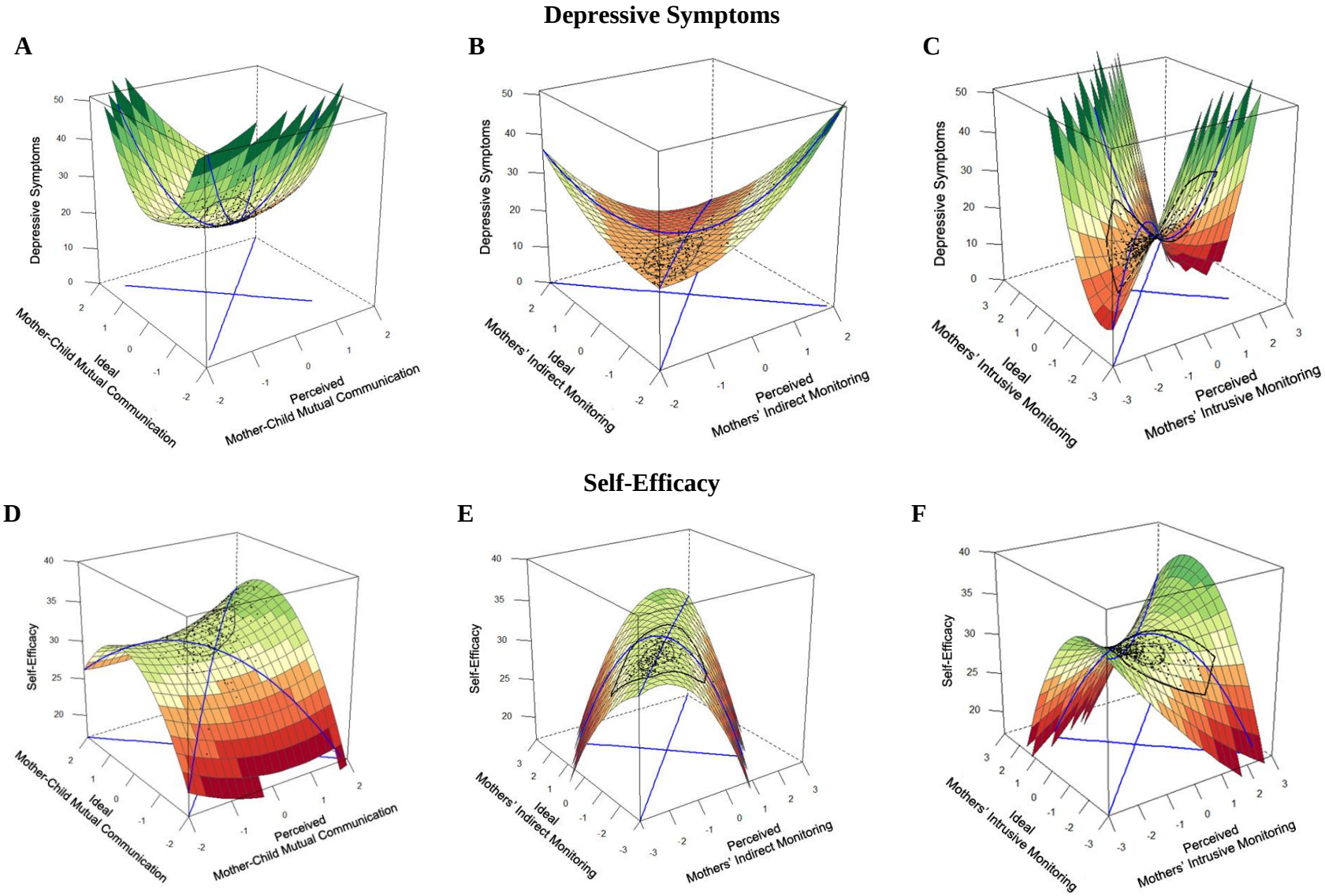

Figure 2. Discrepancies in mothers' monitoring and young adult depressive symptoms and self-efficacy

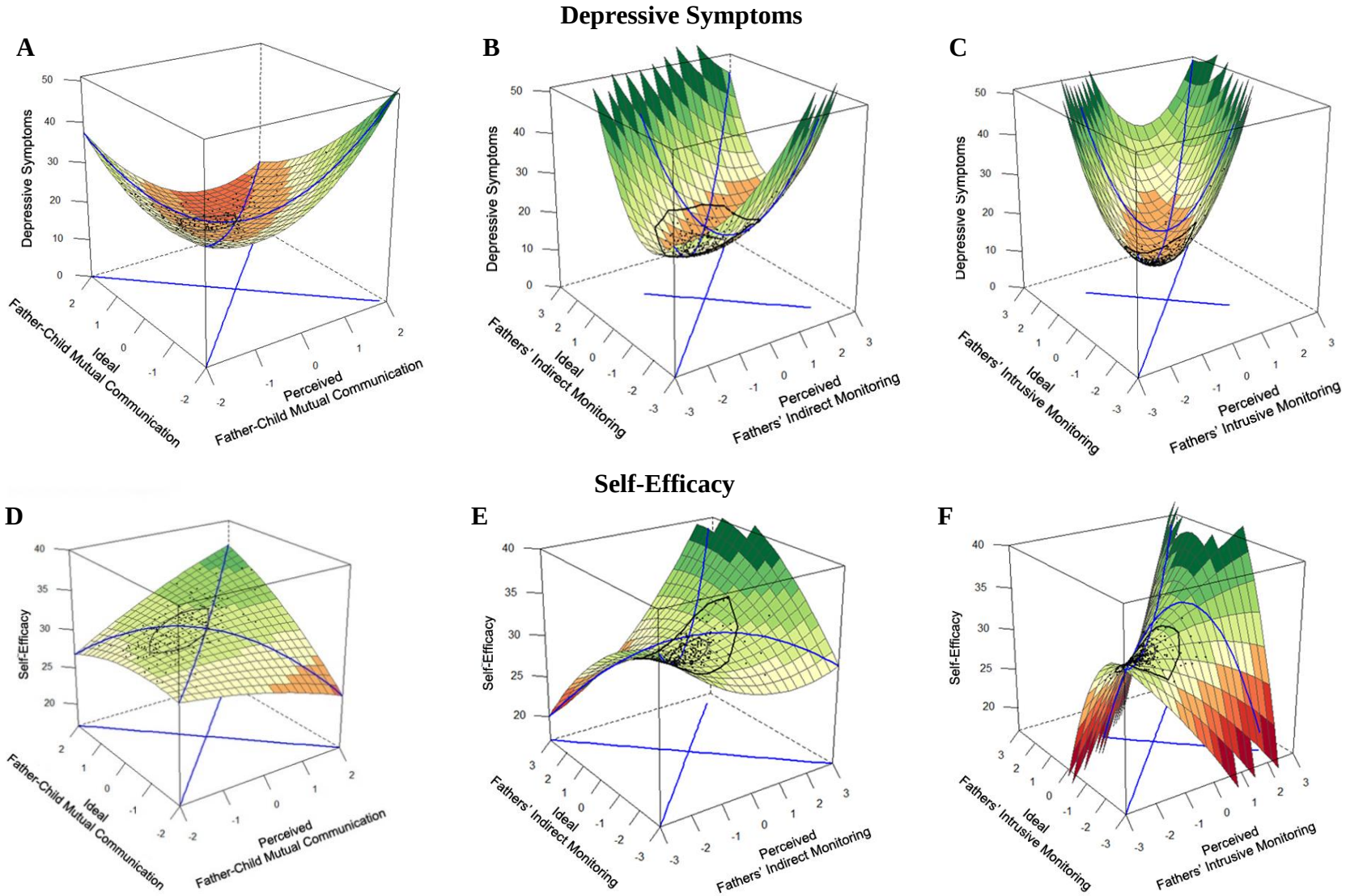

Figure 3. Discrepancies in fathers' monitoring in young adult depressive symptoms and self-efficacy

Discussion

In a Chinese Canadian context, this study sought to understand 1) the nature of parental monitoring of young adult children; 2) young adults' desires for different aspects of parental monitoring; and 3) predictive links between young adults' met and unmet expectations for parental monitoring and well-being. We employed a three-factor model of parental monitoring in young adulthood that included Parent-Child Mutual Communication, Indirect Monitoring, and Intrusive Monitoring.

How do Chinese Canadian parents monitor young adult children?

Young adults' reports of how mothers and fathers monitored reflected traditional Chinese gendered parenting roles. Confucian values have historically informed Chinese parenting norms and gender roles in which mothers are in charge of governing (*guan*) children's day-to-day lives and fathers are in charge of authoritarian discipline and making important family decisions (Li & Lamb, 2015). Accordingly, we found that mothers engaged in significantly more Parent-Child Mutual Communication and Intrusive Monitoring than fathers whereas fathers engaged in significantly more Indirect Monitoring than mothers. Mothers who assume roles as primary caregivers may monitor young adults by engaging in high levels of mutual and direct communication to stay directly in touch with young adults' day-to-day lives. They may also engage in intrusive behaviours that involve control and intrusive information seeking to limit, discover, and correct inappropriate young adult behaviours. With a relatively high level of direct knowledge about children's well-being, daily life experiences and activities, and educational and career pursuits, mothers may not need to rely on indirect methods.

In contrast, Chinese fathers traditionally are described as maintaining emotionally distant (but harmonious) relationships with children (Li & Lamb, 2015). Consistently, our findings

suggest that in young adulthood, fathers may rely on indirect information to stay abreast of children's lives because it may be readily available (e.g., group chat) and supplied to them (e.g., by mothers), more so than mothers. Interestingly, our results also showed that fathers may maintain harmonious parent-child relationships by engaging in moderate levels of Parent-Child Mutual Communication. Whereas fathers may traditionally be less directly involved in the daily lives of young children, there may be increasing levels of father-child mutual and direct communication as children enter adulthood.

Finally, we found that parents largely did not differ in engagement in factors of monitoring based on child demographic differences, with one exception. Mothers' intrusive monitoring decreased as young adult age increased. This is in line with developmental expectations that as children traverse young adulthood, they are increasingly independent and autonomous and require decreasing levels of parental oversight, especially through controlling and intrusive means. For example, in the prolonged transition from adolescence to adulthood, children in their early twenties may be financially supported by parents who may believe it is necessary to check young adults' financial accounts. However, children in their mid to late twenties may be earning steady incomes, reducing the need for parental oversight of finances. As children age and move out of the parental home, parents may also have fewer opportunities to engage in control and snooping. It was interesting that the same correlation between intrusive monitoring and young adult age was not significant for fathers. A floor effect may have been present, as the mean level of fathers' intrusive monitoring was quite low. Thus, fathers may not engage in much intrusive monitoring in general and these low levels may remain stable over young adulthood.

Interestingly, we found no child gender differences in parental monitoring, which is contrary to Chinese cultural norms in which parents, particularly fathers, may be more concerned about sons' proper behaviours and thus more involved and stricter in the parenting of sons over daughters (Li & Lamb, 2015). A sample with more sons is needed to confirm this conclusion.

What are Chinese Canadian Young Adults' Desires and Expectations for Parental Monitoring?

Parent-child mutual communication was by far the most preferred form of monitoring for mothers and fathers, followed by indirect monitoring, and then intrusive monitoring. This suggests that of all monitoring methods, Chinese Canadian young adults believe that parents should rely most frequently on young adults for information. This is in line with the developmental milestones of young adulthood (Arnett, 2000; 2001) such that compared to adolescents, young adults desire more autonomy and independence, less parental control, and more equality in parent-child relationships. Furthermore, these findings support the notion that parental monitoring in young adulthood is viewed best as a relational construct. As young adults, children renegotiate relationships with parents, and our findings suggest that children believe that these relationships should ideally be characterized by primarily mutual communication and voluntary disclosure, whereas intrusive monitoring is least preferred and is more likely to be interpreted and experienced as inappropriate. This is further supported by our finding that ideal levels of intrusive monitoring from both mothers and fathers significantly decreased with age.

Young adults and parents' views of monitoring appeared to be grounded in different cultural traditions. Young adults' preferences for parents to gather information about them primarily through mutual communication and least frequently through intrusive means suggest that participants in our sample were acculturated to Western family and parenting norms and

aspired for parent-child relationships characterized by authoritativeness and equality. In contrast, ratings of actual monitoring practices were more in line with Chinese cultural norms. According to young adults, Chinese Canadian mothers engaged in some Intrusive Monitoring, suggesting an orientation to the traditional norm of lifelong hierarchical parent-child relationships (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Fathers were reported to engage in comparable and relatively low levels of Mutual Communication and Indirect Monitoring, suggesting an orientation to traditional parental roles of maintaining emotionally distant parent-child relationships to maintain a role of authority (Li & Lamb, 2015).

Effects of Met and Unmet Expectations of Parental Monitoring on Young Adult Well-Being

Contrary to the notion that there are universal standards of best parenting practices, our findings show that the effects of parenting on children depends in part on children's expectations and interpretations of parenting, particularly in young adulthood. We found that not all unmet expectations related to monitoring predicted young adult well-being, suggesting that different aspects of parental monitoring have different meanings for Chinese Canadian young adults. Met and unmet expectations in the three factors of monitoring had different predictive links to well-being, and these differed by parent. We discuss our findings for each factor of monitoring below.

Parent-Child Mutual Communication

Met and unmet expectations in mother-child and father-child Mutual Communication predicted young adult well-being in several ways. Met and unmet expectations for both mothers' and fathers' Mutual Communication predicted self-efficacy. For mothers, as perceptions and ideals congruently increased from mid-range to high levels of Mutual Communication, self-efficacy increased. This suggests that when mothers meet young adults' preferences for mutual communication, young adults may feel more in control and capable of navigating and re-

negotiating the mother-child relationship as they traverse this developmental stage. Mothers' respect for young adults' needs may also bolster young adults' beliefs in their ability to set and enforce boundaries and preferences.

For fathers, self-efficacy was highest when levels of father-child Mutual Communication were perfectly matched with their preferences. Similar to mothers, self-efficacy also increased as young adults desired and received increasingly high and congruent levels of father-child Mutual Communication. Notably, the largest proportion of discrepancies in the data were those in which young adults reported receiving too little father-child Mutual Communication, while very few individuals reported receiving too much. More perceived father-child Mutual Communication related to greater self-efficacy. Taken together, our findings suggest that when fathers meet young adults' needs and expectations for communication, young adults may feel respected as an equal member of the relationship rather than a subordinate. However, young adults appear to feel less self-efficacious when they make efforts to initiate communication with fathers but fail to achieve desired levels. This potentially speaks to the traditional hierarchical nature of the father-child relationship in which fathers' decisions are to be respected without question.

With respect to depressive symptoms, only met and unmet expectations in mothers' Parent-Child Mutual Communication predicted well-being. The more mismatched young adults' preferences and actual levels of mother-child Mutual Communication were, the more depressive symptoms young adults reported, suggesting negative interpretations of unmet expectations. Additionally, depressive symptoms were higher when young adults reported too much communication compared to too little communication. Notably, more perceived mother-child communication was associated with fewer depressive symptoms. Taken together, these findings suggest that although mother-child communication is generally a positive parenting behaviour,

too much of it may have negative repercussions, possibly if the recipient interprets as excessive or originating from negative intentions (e.g., lack of parental trust, desire to criticize). It is also possible that mothers may initiate more communication with a young adult showing signs of depression. Interestingly, depressive symptoms were lower when young adults reported too little mother-child mutual communication, suggesting that in this developmental stage, mothers not meeting a standard of communication may not tend to be interpreted as inappropriate, as it is typical for young adults to have (and parents to allow for) more independence and privacy.

Unmet expectations in father-child Mutual Communication did not predict young adult depressive symptoms, though perceived levels of Mutual Communication were linked to fewer depressive symptoms. This suggests that although communication may be beneficial for young adult well-being, unmet expectations for fathers' communication may not be as consequential compared to unmet expectations for mothers because fathers are not expected to traditionally engage in frequent direct communication with children. As such, young adults who desire but do not receive high levels of communication may interpret this as fathers engaging in culturally normative parenting rather than not caring about them. The contrast between findings for mothers versus fathers suggests an imbalance of expectations for parenting based on gender roles such that mothers falling short of expectations for communication tend to be penalized through negative interpretations while fathers who fall short of expectations tend to get a pass.

Overall, our findings suggest that Parent-Child Mutual Communication as a means of parental monitoring may contribute to positive young adult development of autonomy and self-efficacy, particularly when parents and young adults are able to engage in moderate to high levels of communication without exceeding young adults' unique preferred levels of communication.

Indirect Monitoring

Fathers' ability to meet young adults' expectations for Indirect Monitoring may be particularly salient and consequential to young adult well-being, compared to mothers' Indirect Monitoring. Depressive symptoms were minimized when young adults' expectations for fathers' Indirect Monitoring were met, and increased as perceived and ideal Indirect Monitoring became more discrepant. Young adults who perceive fathers as engaging in too little Indirect Monitoring may see this as incongruent with cultural norms of fathers' responsibility to be informed about young adults' lives and interpret this as fathers not caring about them, leading to lower sense of self-worth and more depressive symptoms. Conversely, it is possible that young adults may perceive fathers as relying too much on just this form of monitoring, when there is a possibility of attaining information through mutual communication. This unmet expectation may be negatively interpreted as fathers' lack of desire to have an emotionally close relationship with young adults. Interestingly, unmet expectations for fathers' Indirect Monitoring did not predict self-efficacy. Unmet expectations may not have predicted self-efficacy because Indirect Monitoring is a one-sided parenting practice, unlike Parent-Child Mutual Communication where there may be more opportunity for young adults to effect change in parenting and the parent-child relationship.

Met and unmet expectations for mothers' Indirect Monitoring did not predict either outcome. The low mean level and variance of mothers' Indirect Monitoring may have limited the ability to detect small effects. Additionally, it is possible that because Indirect Monitoring was mothers' least frequent monitoring method and a less central method of monitoring method, unmet expectations may not be as important or salient to young adults and therefore may be less consequential to well-being relative to unmet expectations in other factors of monitoring.

Intrusive Monitoring

Met and unmet expectations in mothers' Intrusive Monitoring may be more salient and consequential to well-being compared to that of fathers. Although perceived mothers' Intrusive Monitoring is related to more depressive symptoms, young adults' preferences for Intrusive Monitoring predicted depressive symptoms above and beyond perceived levels of parenting. The greater the discrepancies between perceived and ideal mothers' Intrusive Monitoring (in both directions of too much and too little monitoring), the more depressive symptoms young adults reported. Depressive symptoms were lowest when young adults' expectations were met. Some young adults may desire minimal levels of intrusive monitoring whereas others may desire higher levels of it for various reasons. For example, young adults who have greater dependence on mothers for support may desire mothers communicating with health providers and deciding on their schedule and activities. Furthermore, those who have close relationships with mothers may welcome mothers' expectations for child disclosure. Depending on these preferences, mothers' actual Intrusive Monitoring may be interpreted differently. Those who desire very low levels of Intrusive Monitoring may interpret it as excessive and as invasions of privacy whereas those who welcome these ways for mothers to be involved in their lives.

Contrary to expectations, met and unmet expectations in mothers' Intrusive Monitoring did not predict young adult self-efficacy, despite the negative correlation between perceived levels of maternal Intrusive Monitoring and self-efficacy. It is possible that Intrusive Monitoring may be interpreted as indicative of mothers' lack of trust in young adults' maturity and responsibility, which may speak more to self-worth and self-esteem, and link to depressive symptoms, rather than self-efficacy. For example, a young adult may be and feel efficacious in

solving their own problems and making their own decisions in their day-to-day lives despite their mother engaging in intrusive behaviours to keep track of them.

Also contrary to expectations, unmet expectations in fathers' Intrusive Monitoring did not predict young adult depressive symptoms or self-efficacy. Notably, perceived fathers' Intrusive Monitoring was not related to either outcomes. Fathers were also reported to engage in the lowest level of Intrusive Monitoring of all factors of monitoring, thus, a floor effect may have reduced the ability to detect small effects. Additionally, it is possible that young adults view paternal Intrusive Monitoring behaviours as normal and appropriate given fathers' roles as disciplinarian and authoritarian in the family. Indeed, perceived levels of fathers' Intrusive Monitoring was not correlated with either index of well-being.

Theoretical and Clinical Implications

The current study results have important implications for understanding the construct of parental monitoring in young adulthood in Chinese-origin North American families. First, our findings contribute to nuanced understanding of parent-child relationships in young adulthood. Of the three factors of monitoring, Parent-Child Mutual Communication was the most predictive of well-being and was the only factor that predicted young adult self-efficacy. This highlights the importance of reciprocity in the parent-child relationship in young adulthood and suggests that parental monitoring is better understood as a relational construct than a unidirectional parenting practice. Indeed, as children traverse adolescence, parents' monitoring knowledge becomes increasingly dependent on child disclosure (Smetana, 2008; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Our findings suggest that this trend continues into young adulthood, highlighting the importance of research on parenting of young adults to take into account the emotional climate of the parent-child

relationship, particularly when determining the effects of parenting on young adults (e.g., Padilla-Walker et al., 2019).

Second, extending previous research on the importance of children's preferences and interpretations of parenting (So & Costigan, 2021), our current results suggest that child interpretations of parenting continue to be and may be even more powerful in shaping the effects of parental monitoring over time. Although we found that perceived levels of parental monitoring predicted well-being, we also found that unmet expectations predicted well-being above and beyond objective levels of parenting. These findings are in line with dynamic and transactional models of development (Kuczynski & De Mol, 2015). No one combination of parental monitoring practices may be universally the best for all young adult children; the impact of parenting depends on whether it fits with young adults' preferences.

Third, in contrast to our research on Chinese Canadian children that found that only discrepancies in fathers' (but not mothers') parental monitoring knowledge predicted child well-being (So & Costigan, 2021), we found that unmet expectations for both mothers' and fathers' monitoring predicted young adult well-being. Whereas younger children may perceive discrepancies in mothers' close involvement and oversight as normative and appropriate even if they prefer lower levels of such, as children become more mature and yearn for more independence, the same discrepancies may be increasingly interpreted as non-normative and subsequently have more consequences on well-being.

Fourth, our study underscored the value of expanding the measurement of parental monitoring in young adulthood beyond negative and invasive forms of parenting. Doing so in the present study allowed the detection of Chinese Canadian young adults' nuanced expectations and responses to central and peripheral monitoring methods, such that only met and unmet

expectations in fathers' Indirect Monitoring (and not mothers') and mothers' Intrusive Monitoring (and not fathers') predicted well-being (depressive symptoms).

With respect to clinical practice with Chinese-origin young adults and families, this study underscores the importance of clinicians' and parental understanding of young adults' values, preferences, interpretations, and lived experiences of maternal and paternal monitoring. If parents are worried about young adults' well-being or the parent-child relationship, rather than resorting to intrusive methods of information gathering, it may be more helpful to mend and foster warm and nonjudgmental parent-young adult relationships to encourage more disclosure, as this is likely the most effective way to gain accurate information. It is also important for parents to understand the significance of young adult development of autonomy, independence, and self-efficacy and that parents' role in supporting the development of these milestones is to respect young adults' needs and preferences for the frequency and depth of parent-child mutual communication and privacy.

While it is unrealistic to expect parents to completely change their parenting values and monitoring practices and children to completely change their preferences for monitoring when there is a parent-child discrepancy, increased mutual perspective taking and understanding may help to alleviate the effects of negative or inaccurate interpretations of parent and child behaviours. For example, a parent may interpret young adults' nondisclosure as acts of disrespect and hiding important information when it may simply be young adults' preference for privacy. A young adult may interpret parental expectations for disclosure as a lack of trust when it may simply be a culturally informed parenting practice. Mutual perspective taking and open communication may contribute to more benign interpretations of parental monitoring and buffer the negative effects of unmet expectations (e.g., Choi et al., 2020) and ultimately foster more

emotionally warm parent-young adult relationships that will support young adult development (e.g., Padilla-Walker et al., 2019).

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

There are several limitations to the present study. The generalizability of our results is limited by the underrepresentation of males, first-generation foreign-born individuals, young adults who were not students, and those with lower socioeconomic status. Further exploration of these populations will increase our understanding of potential gender and generational status differences in the role of met and unmet expectations of parental monitoring vis-à-vis Chinese traditional gender roles and family values. Additionally, there were relatively low numbers of individuals reporting certain objective levels of parental monitoring (e.g., high levels of Intrusive Monitoring) and certain directions of unmet expectations (e.g., receiving too much father-child Mutual Communication, or not enough Intrusive Monitoring). Exploration of our research questions in a larger dataset with more individuals would increase power to detect effects. Our study employed cross-sectional data, which precluded causal conclusions. Longitudinal studies following children from late adolescence into young adulthood will help to establish causality. Such investigations will be important to explore the possibility that young adult well-being may influence parenting, perceptions of parenting and misinterpretations of parenting. For example, a depressed young adult with low self-efficacy may raise parents' concerns for their child's well-being and in turn increase all forms of monitoring in an effort to help, which may in turn result in decreasing ideal levels of monitoring. Our study represented only one perspective in the parent-child relationship – the child's perspective. Our purpose in doing so was to highlight the importance of children's perspectives in shaping the effects of parenting. Obtaining parent

reports of monitoring will contribute to a fuller understanding of dynamics in these families from both developmental and cultural perspectives.

Continuing the exploration of the impact of young adult interpretations of parenting, future research should examine mediating and moderating factors in links between unmet expectations and well-being such as young adult orientation to heritage and mainstream culture, and young adult perceptions of mothers' and fathers' motivations for engaging in different monitoring behaviours. For example, different perceived motivations for fathers' versus mothers' intrusive monitoring may potentially explain why some unmet expectations in mothers' monitoring predicted well-being but not for fathers.

Finally, notwithstanding the well-established gender roles in traditional Chinese parenting, evidence also shows that Chinese parenting is shifting away from Confucian values as a result of recent sociocultural and political changes in China. Chuang (2018) reviewed that after the introduction of the one-child policy in China, parents have become increasingly child-centered and cling to their children more and engage in more indulgent parenting practices. Discussion of such changes in parenting have focused primarily on parents of young children. Thus, it is not known whether and/or how these shifts manifest in young adulthood. Our sample of Chinese Canadian families consisted of parents who were likely raised before or just at the dawn of such sociocultural and political shifts and thus may subscribe more strongly to traditional Chinese parenting beliefs and norms. Furthermore, the differences in political situations have resulted in unique philosophies in various Chinese regions, which may result in unique constellations of parenting monitoring behaviours in different regions. Exposure to the Western context and Western parenting norms upon immigration introduces further nuances. We echo Chuang's (2018) call for researchers to situate more intentionally examinations of Chinese

parenting within greater contexts such as the globalization and Westernization of Chinese culture and the prolonging of the transition from adolescence to adulthood. For example, future research on parental monitoring of young adults should aim to uncover how parental "clinginess" and indulgence may translate to differing levels of parental monitoring, particularly parent-child mutual communication and intrusive monitoring. As such, qualitative data on young adults' lived experiences and perspectives of mothers' and fathers' Mutual Communication, Indirect Monitoring, and Intrusive Monitoring will shed light on the different and shifting cultural meanings of mothering, fathering, and monitoring in an Asian immigrant context.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The present research represents the first known endeavour to understand parental monitoring of young adults in a Chinese Canadian context. Overall, this research revealed a more nuanced understanding of the complexities in Chinese immigrant families and has important implications for the study of parenting and parent-child relationships in young adulthood.

First, there is diversity in how Chinese Canadian young adults interpret parental monitoring depending on their desired levels of monitoring and which parent is engaging in certain behaviours. Whereas from a Western perspective, parental involvement in young adulthood may be assumed to be invasive, unwanted, and to have negative effects on young adult development, this may not necessarily be the case for Chinese Canadian young adults. Contrary to popular assumptions, not all monitoring in this cultural group and developmental stage is characterized by invasive behaviours or motivated by malicious intentions. The most salient and frequently reported method by which mothers and fathers find out information about their young adult children was not intrusive in nature; and the most frequently reported of all perceived parental motivations for monitoring were all positive in nature (e.g., parental concerns about children's safety, parental love and care).

Second, parental monitoring of young adults in Chinese Canadian families is a multidimensional construct comprised of the dimensions of Parent-Child Communication, Indirect Monitoring, and Intrusive Monitoring. We developed the Parental Monitoring of Young Adults Scale – Chinese Canadian (PMYAS-CC) that represents the first known multidimensional scale of parental monitoring of young adults that captures the wide range of behaviours. The PMYAS-CC provides a more accurate and nuanced assessment of parental monitoring compared to widely-used tools that purport to measure monitoring behaviours but actually measure parental knowledge. This tool also adds to the literature on parenting in young adulthood through its

balanced assessment of parental monitoring and involvement in this developmental stage, in contrast to the heavy focus on negative parenting behaviours (e.g., overparenting, helicopter parenting, invasive parenting) thus far in the literature.

Based on our evidence of equality and reciprocity in parental monitoring in young adulthood, we call for a relational conceptualization of the construct particularly in young adulthood. Our findings were particularly interesting vis-à-vis Chinese values that traditionally encourage lifelong hierarchical one-way parent-child relationships even as children mature into adults. Despite this tradition, a *relational* dimension of monitoring—Parent-Child Mutual Communication—and not a unidirectional dimension (e.g., parental solicitation) emerged as young adults' most desired method of monitoring from both mothers and fathers. It was also amongst the most frequently perceived monitoring methods. This relational aspect of monitoring was also related to young adult well-being. Taken together, these findings underscore the importance of reciprocity and equality in young adult development even in a cultural context that is influenced by values of lifelong filial piety and child obedience and deference to parents. It is probable that the same pattern of findings may be found amongst families in individualistic cultures and possibly to non-immigrant families in Chinese countries and other traditionally collectivistic cultures. We invite future investigations and validation studies of the PMYAS-CC in other cultural groups.

Third, our research findings highlight children's important roles as active agents in their own development and the notion that there is not a universally beneficial parenting style. Above and beyond objective levels of parental monitoring, young adults' interpretations of different dimensions of mothers' and fathers' monitoring had different links to depressive symptoms and self-efficacy. Thus, the effects of parenting depend in part on how the parenting is understood by

children. These interpretations are dependent on family values and cultural norms of parenting, parent gender roles, and parent-child relationships. We highlight the importance of future research investigations on the effects of parenting to take into consideration young adults' preferences for parenting and interpretations of parental motivations for different behaviours, especially during developmental stages in which milestones include achievement of independence, autonomy, and a stable identity.

Finally, our findings highlight importance of cultural sensitivity and competence in clinical work with Chinese Canadian young adults (e.g., university-aged individuals, emerging professionals) and their families. We encourage clinicians to be mindful of biases based on mainstream and personal cultural family values. Specifically, biases may lead to misconstruing high levels of parental involvement as necessarily invasive and inappropriate when in fact it may be experienced as a normal, accepted, and even positive family dynamic by some young adults. Work with those presenting with family concerns should include an assessment of young adults' orientations to various cultures, family values, and expectations for parenting from mothers and fathers to help identify appropriate therapy goals that will be most conducive to young adult well-being and family functioning. Clinicians are encouraged to explore the presence of parent-child acculturation gaps and differences in values and expectations for how parents and young adults should interact with one another. Helping young adults to interpret parental behaviours in more helpful ways and parents to understand young adults' interpretations and reactions to parental behaviours may increase mutual perspective taking and ultimately open new possibilities for harmonious and meaningful parent-child relationships.

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Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

1. What sex were you assigned at birth, meaning on your original birth certificate?
   Male
   Female

2. Which best describes your current gender identity?
   Male
   Female
   Indigenous or other cultural gender minority identity (e.g., two-spirit)
   Something else (e.g., gender fluid, non-binary); please specify

3. What is your age? _____

4. Were you born in Canada? Yes / No

5. If you were born outside of Canada, where were you born? (city, country)
   _____

6. If you were born outside of Canada, at what age did you move to Canada?

7. If you were born outside of Canada, when you immigrated to Canada, who did you immigrate with?
   Mother only
   Father only
   Both mother and father
   Other, please specify

8. Where do you currently live? (city, province) _____

9. What is your marital status?
   Single
   In a relationship
   Living with partner
   Married
   Divorced
   Widowed

10. What is your highest level of education completed? (If you are currently enrolled in school, please indicate the highest degree you have received)
    Elementary school (Grade 6)
    Junior high (Grade 8)

High school (Grade 12)
Vocational school or college
University (3-4 years)
Graduate or Professional School (e.g., medical school, law school)

11. What is your current occupational status? (check all that apply)
    Student
    Employed full-time
    Employed part-time
    Unemployed and looking for a job
    Unemployed and not looking for a job
    Homemaker
    Other, please specify

12. If you are currently enrolled in school, what is the degree you will receive upon completion of your program?
    High school diploma, or equivalent
    College degree
    Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BSc)
    Master's degree (e.g., MA, MSc, MEd)
    Professional degree (e.g., MD, JD)
    Doctorate (e.g., PhD)
    Other, please specify

13. Are the parents who raised you:
    Married or common law
    Separated or divorced
    Mother is widowed
    Father is widowed

14. What is your mother's ethnicity? _____

15. Was your mother born in Canada? Yes / No

16. If your mother was born outside of Canada, where was she born? _____ (country)

17. If your mother was born outside of Canada, at what age did she immigrate to Canada? _____

18. What is your father's ethnicity? _____

19. Was your father born in Canada? Yes / No

20. If your father was born outside of Canada, where was he born? _____ (country)

21. If your father was born outside of Canada, at what age did he immigrate to Canada? _____

22. How would you describe your family's socio-economic status when you were growing up?

    Lower class
    Lower middle class
    Middle class
    Upper middle class
    Upper class
    Prefer not to say

23. What was your parents' combined annual income (before tax) when you were in your childhood and teenage years?

    Less than $11,000
    $11,001 to $20,000
    $20,001 to $30,000
    $30,001 to $40,000
    $40,001 to $50,000
    $50,001 to $60,000
    $60,001 to $70,001
    $70,001 to $80,000
    $80,001 to $90,000
    $90,001 to $100,000
    $100,001 to $110,000
    $110,001 to $120,000
    Over $120,000
    Prefer not to say
    I don't know

24. What is your current individual annual income (before tax)?

    Less than $11,000
    $11,001 to $30,000
    $30,001 to $50,000
    $50,001 to $75,000
    $75,001 to $100,000
    $100,001 to $150,000
    Over $150,000
    Prefer not to say

25. Who currently lives with you? (check all that apply)

Alone
Spouse/partner
Roommate(s)
Mother
Father
Sibling(s)
Stepparent
Grandparent(s)
Extended family (aunts, uncles, cousins)
Other, please specify

26. If you do not live with your mother, how far do you live from your **mother**?

Up to one hour's drive
An hour to two-hour drive
More than a two-hour drive
Not applicable

27. If you do not live with your father, how far do you live from your **father**?

Up to one hour's drive
An hour to two-hour drive
More than a two-hour drive
Not applicable

28. Approximately how often do you meet face-to-face with your **mother**?

Every day
Four to six times a week
Two to three times a week
Once a week
Once every two to three weeks
Once a month
Five to eleven times a year
Two to four times a year
Once a year
Less than once a year
Not applicable

29. Approximately how often do you have non-face-to-face contact (e.g., text messaging, telephone, video calls) with your **mother**?

Every day
Four to six times a week
Two to three times a week
Once a week

Once every two to three weeks
Once a month
Five to eleven times a year
Two to four times a year
Once a year
Less than once a year
Not applicable

30. Approximately how often do you meet face-to-face with your **father**?
    Every day
    Four to six times a week
    Two to three times a week
    Once a week
    Once every two to three weeks
    Once a month
    Five to eleven times a year
    Two to four times a year
    Once a year
    Less than once a year
    Not applicable

31. Approximately how often do you have non-face-to-face contact (e.g., text messaging, telephone, video calls) with your **father**?
    Every day
    Four to six times a week
    Two to three times a week
    Once a week
    Once every two to three weeks
    Once a month
    Five to eleven times a year
    Two to four times a year
    Once a year
    Less than once a year
    Not applicable

Appendix B

Open-ended questions

Parents have many ways of finding out information about their young adult children. For example, they may:

- Ask their children about their lives
- Ask people who know their children
- Set rules that their children share information (e.g., where they're going and when they will be home)
- Create opportunities for conversations (e.g., set weekly family dinners)
- Look through their children's phone, mail, or internet usage

Parents may also find out information because their children voluntarily share about events in their lives.

We are interested in all of the ways in which your parent(s) find out information about you. There are 4 main questions that we will ask you in this survey. You are allowed to go back and forth between the pages of the survey so please do if you need to.

(next page)

1. **Please list all of the ways in which your <u>mother</u> finds out information about you.** Please list each way on a separate line. Please describe each way and give examples as necessary so that we can fully understand the nature of your mother's ways of keeping track of you.

2. For all of the ways in which your **<u>mother</u>** finds out information about you, what do you think are **her motivations and reasons for wanting to know things about you and your life**? Please list each motivation/reason on a separate line, and elaborate on them as necessary so that we can fully understand the nature of your mother's motivations.

3. **Please list all of the ways in which your <u>father</u> finds out information about you.** Please list all ways, even if some of them are the same as the ones you listed for your mother. Please list each method on a separate line

4. For all of the ways in which your **<u>father</u>** finds out information about you, what do you think are **his motivations and reasons for wanting to know things about you and your life**? Please list each motivation/reason on a separate line. Please list each motivation/reason on a separate line, and elaborate on them as necessary so that we can fully understand the nature of your father's motivations.

Appendix C

Perceived Mothers'/Fathers' Monitoring Behaviours of Young Adult Children

How often does your mother/father ***currently*** engage in the following actions that enable your mother/father to monitor your behaviours and find out information about your life?

Please answer on a scale from…

0 = not applicable 1 = Never 2 = Rarely 3 = Sometimes 4 = Often 5 = Very often

My mother/father …

1. asks me about my life (e.g., recent events, my whereabouts, how I am doing at school, at work, and in general).
2. initiates conversations and we talk via text/instant messaging, phone, e-mail, video call, and/or in person.
3. asks my father/mother for information about me.
4. finds out information about me through my father/mother telling her/him (without her/him asking).
5. asks me about my opinions.
6. follows/looks at my social media pages (e.g., Facebook, Instagram).
7. asks and/or talks to my sibling(s) about me.
8. asks and/or talks to my partner/spouse about me.
9. asks and/or talks to people who know me (who are outside of my family), such as my friends and family friends.
10. asks other people to ask me about things she wants to know about.
11. finds out information about me via a family group chat.
12. asks and/or talks to my extended family (e.g., aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins) about me.
13. checks my financial accounts.
14. observes me (e.g., my behaviours, how my home is).
15. asks me questions covertly (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else).
16. sets limits on what I can and cannot do/access (e.g., curfew, cannot lock my room door, no sleepovers).
17. asks me detailed questions to try to catch me lying in conversations.
18. opens my mail.
19. uses a location tracking application to check where I am.
20. sets expectations that I communicate with her/him regularly (e.g., calling, visiting her).
21. sets expectations that I tell her/him about my plans (e.g., day-to-day and travel plans).
22. asks and/or talks to my health providers (e.g., doctor, counsellor).
23. checks my internet usage.
24. finds out information about me via a shared calendar.
25. creates opportunities to talk to me (e.g., initiating activities together).

26. decides on my schedule and activities.
27. drops me off and picks me up from activities.
28. eavesdrops on my conversations.
29. snoops/looks through my things without my permission.
30. enters my room without my permission

Please rate how often you engage in the following actions with your mother.

31. I voluntarily tell my mother/father about my life without her asking.
32. I initiate conversations with my mother/father and we talk via text/instant messaging, phone, video call, e-mail, and/or in person.

Appendix D

Perceived Parenting

Adolescent Disclosure (Smetana et al., 2006)

Please answer the following questions based on your current relationships with your parents.

1 = Strongly Disagree 4 = Strongly Agree

1. I tell my mother/father what I am doing before s/he has to ask
2. I tell my mother/father who I am going to be with before s/he has to ask
3. I talk to my mother/father about plans with friends before s/he has to ask

Parental Solicitation (Tilton-Weaver & Marshall, 2015; Tilton-Weaver, 2015)

1 = Never 5 = Very Often

How often does your mother/father…

1. Start conversations with you about your free time?
2. Ask where you go in the evening and with whom?
3. Ask what you're doing while you're alone?
4. Ask you what you are doing between the end of the school/work day and when you get home?
5. Ask questions about who your friends are, or how you would describe them?
6. Ask you what you are doing in the weekend if you are not at home?

Parental Control (Stattin & Kerr 2000)

1 = Never 5 = Very Often

1. How often does your mother/father require you to tell her/him before you go out on a Saturday night, where you are going and with whom?
2. How often does your mother/father require you to tell her/him where you are in the evenings, who you are with, and what you are doing?
3. If you have been out until very late in the evening, how often does your mother/father require you to tell her/him what you were doing and who you were with?

Parental Knowledge (Brown et al., 1993)

1 = Don't Know 2 = Know A Little 3 = Know A Lot

How much do your mother/father *really* know about:

1. Who your friends are
2. How you spend your money
3. Where you are after school/work
4. Where you go at night
5. What you do with your free time

Overparenting Scale (Leung & Shek, 2018; Intrusion of child's life and direction subscale)

Please answer the following questions based on your parent's current behaviours.

1 = strongly disagree 4 = strongly agree

My mother/father…

1. Never gives up if I do not try my best.
2. Never allows me to find excuse for failure.
3. Ignores me if I fail to meet her requirement
4. Intrudes my plan of future development
5. I develop under my mother's/father's meticulous plan
6. Expects me to follow her direction
7. Makes decisions in my study and work

Parental Invasive Behaviour Instrument (Ledbetter & Vik, 2012)

0 = Never 5 = Very Often

My mother/father…

Mediated Invasion

1. Looks through my call list on my cell phone without my permission.
2. Reads through my text messages without my permission.
3. Reads my private online communication (such as e-mails or IM conversations) without my permission.
4. Monitors my phone calls by looking over the phone bill.
5. Checks up on me through social networking websites such as Facebook or MySpace.

Verbal Invasion

6. Demands that I change my behavior in some area of my life.
7. Asks personal questions that I don't want to answer.
8. Gives unwanted advice about some area of my life.

Spatial Invasion

9. Goes through my personal belongings without my permission.
10. Goes through my postal mail without my permission.
11. Eavesdrops on my face-to-face conversations with others.

Parental Warmth (Rohner 2005; subscale of Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire Short Form, Warmth Subscale)

1 = Almost never true 2 = Rarely true 3 = Sometimes true 4 = Almost always true

My mother/father…

1. Says nice things about me
2. Makes it easy for me to tell her things that are important to me
3. Is really interested in what I do
4. Makes me feel wanted and needed
5. Makes me feel what I do is important
6. Cares about what I think, and likes me to talk about it
7. Lets me know she loves me
8. Treats me gently and with kindness

Appendix E

Ideal Mothers'/Fathers' Monitoring Behaviours of Young Adult Children

How much ***should*** a mother/father engage in the following actions that enable her/him to monitor their young adult child's behaviours and find out information about their life?

Please answer on a scale from…

1 = Never 2 = Rarely 3 = Sometimes 4 = Often 5 = Very often

With a young adult child your age, a mother/father **should**…

1. ask her/his young adult child about their life (e.g., recent events, their whereabouts, how they are doing at school, at work, and in general).
2. initiate conversations with her/his young adult child and talk via text/instant messaging, phone, e-mail, video call, and/or in person.
3. ask her/his young adult child's father/mother for information about them.
4. find out information about her young adult child through their father/mother telling her/him.
5. ask her/his young adult child about their opinions.
6. follow/look at her/his young adult child's social media pages (e.g., Facebook, Instagram).
7. ask and/or talk to her/his young adult child's sibling(s) about them.
8. ask and/or talk to her/his young adult child's partner/spouse about them.
9. ask and/or talk to people who know her/his young adult child (who are outside of my family), such as friends and family friends.
10. ask other people to ask her/his young adult child about things she wants to know about.
11. find out information about her/his young adult child via a family group chat.
12. ask and/or talk to extended family (e.g., aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins) about her/his young adult child.
13. check her/his young adult child's financial accounts.
14. observe her/his young adult child (e.g., behaviours, how their home is).
15. ask her/his young adult child questions covertly (e.g., asking about one thing but really wants to know about something else).
16. set limits on what her/his young adult child can and cannot do/access (e.g., curfew, cannot lock room door, no sleepovers).
17. ask her/his young adult child detailed questions to try to catch them lying in conversations.
18. open her/his young adult child's mail.
19. use a location tracking application to check where her/his young adult child is.
20. set expectations that her/his young adult child communicates with her regularly (e.g., calling, visiting her/him).
21. set expectations that her/his young adult child tells her about their plans (e.g., day-to-day and travel plans).
22. ask and/or talk to her/his young adult child's health providers (e.g., doctor, counsellor).
23. check her/his young adult child's internet usage.
24. find out information about her/his young adult child via a shared calendar.

25. create opportunities to talk to her young adult child (e.g., initiating activities together).
26. decide on her/his young adult child's schedule and activities.
27. drop off and pick up her/his young adult child from activities.
28. eavesdrop on her/his young adult child's conversations.
29. snoop/look through her/his young adult's things without their permission.
30. enter her/his young adult child's room without their permission.
31. A young adult child should voluntarily tell their mother/father about their life without her/him asking.
32. A young adult child should initiate conversations with their mother/father and talk via text/instant messaging, phone, video call, e-mail, and/or in person.

Appendix F

Parent-Child Relationship Quality

Quality of Relationships Inventory (Pierce, 1994; Social Support subscale)

1 = Not At All 4 = Very Much

1. To what extent can you count on your mother/father to listen to you when you are very angry at someone else?
2. To what extent can you turn to your mother/father for advice about problems?
3. To what extent can you really count on your mother/father to distract you from your worries when you are under stress?
4. To what extent could you count on your mother/father for help with a problem?
5. If you wanted to go out and do something this evening, how confident are you that your mother/father would be willing to do something with you?
6. To what extent could you count on your mother/father to help you if a family member very close to you died?
7. To what extent can you count on your mother/father to give you honest feedback, even if you might not want to hear it?

Appendix G

Self-Efficacy

General Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995)

Please rate how true the following statements are for you currently.

1 = *not true at all* 2 = *hardly true* 3 = *moderately true* 4 = *exactly true*

1. I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.
2. If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want.
3. It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals.
4. I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.
5. Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations.
6. I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort.
7. I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities.
8. When I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions.
9. If I am in trouble, I can usually think of a solution.
10. I can usually handle whatever comes my way.

Appendix H

Depressive Symptoms

Center for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977)

Please select the number for each statement which best describes how often you felt or behaved this way during the past week.

During the **past week** …

0 = *rarely or none of the time (<1 day)*
1 = *some or a little of the time (1-2 days)*
2 = *a lot of the time (3-4 days)*
3 = *most or all of the time (5-7 days)*

1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.
2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.
3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.
4. I felt that I was just as good as other people.
5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
6. I felt depressed.
7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.
8. I felt hopeful about the future.
9. I thought my life has been a failure.
10. I felt fearful.
11. My sleep was restless.
12. I was happy.
13. I talked less than usual.
14. I felt lonely.
15. People were unfriendly.
16. I enjoyed life.
17. I had crying spells.
18. I felt sad.
19. I felt that people disliked me.
20. I could not get "going" (or motivated).